A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN EAST MALAYSIA AND BRUNEI (1880 - 1976).

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A Thesis presented for the degree of Ph. D. in the Faculty of Arts of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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SUMMARY

In 1976, by the decree Quoniam Deo Favente, Pope Paul VI erected the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical Province of East Malaysia, embracing the Archdiocese of Kuching, Sarawak, and its two suffragan sees, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, and Miri, Sarawak. Previous to 1880 the influence of the Catholic Church on this part of Borneo was negligible. This study traces the events that brought about the establishment of the Catholic Church in East Malaysia and treats of these events in five different sections. First, it considers the contribution of the Mill Hill Missionaries and the leaders of the Church. Second, it examines the development of religious institutes within the local Church. Third, it describes the processes of expansion and maturing by which the local Church learned to stand on her own feet. The fourth section considers the Church's contribution to social changes in Borneo, that reached out beyond its own immediately internal concerns, especially linguistic studies, educational work, medical services and socio-economic projects. The final section examines the relations between the Church and the various governments that have ruled Sarawak and Sabah since 1880. It explores their many points of common interest and the issues that brought them into contention at times. The study concludes by gathering together the threads of the previous parts to illustrate that the Province of East Malaysia is a viable ecclesiastical unit that has retained its communionn with the universal Church and has developed her own distinctly local character.

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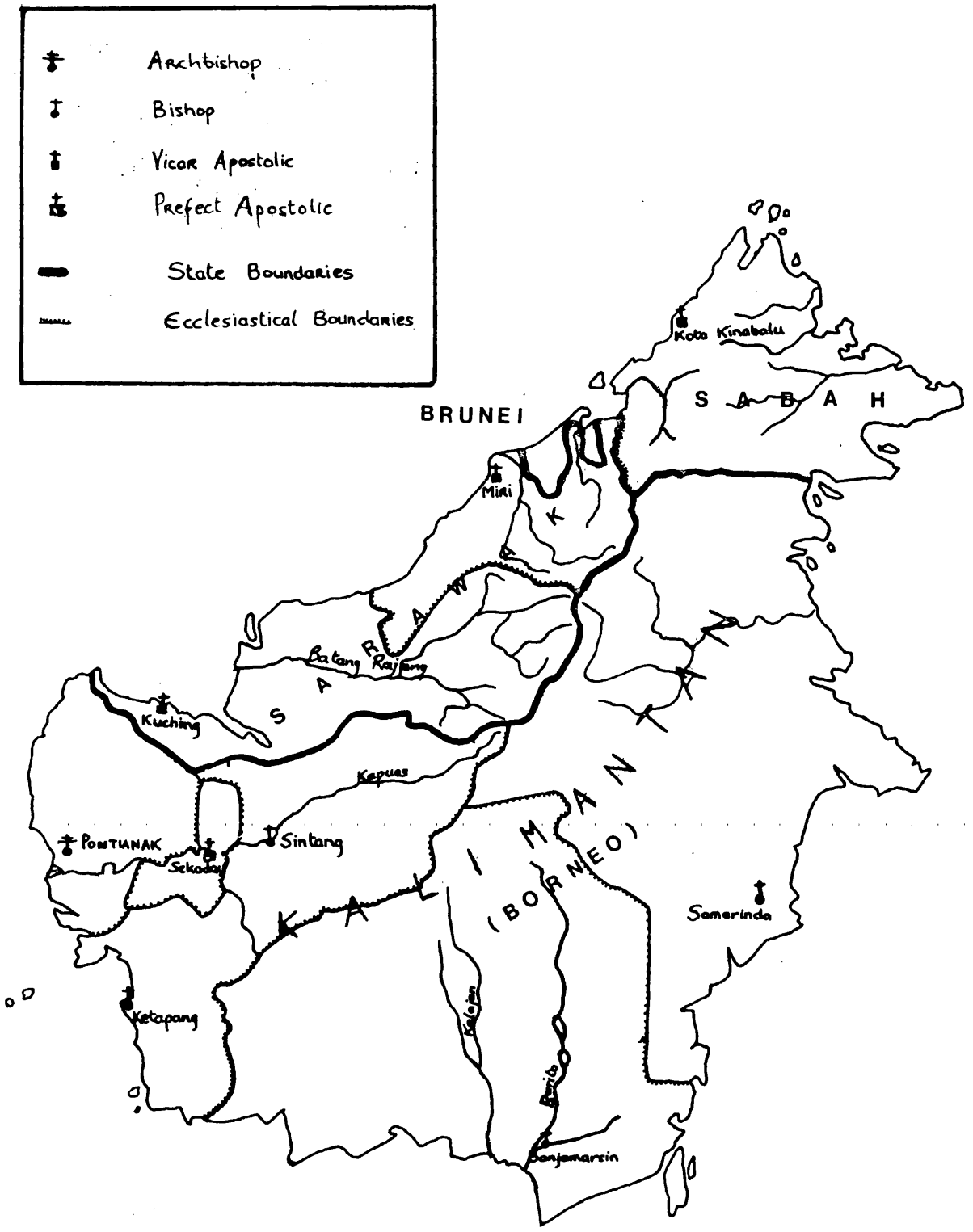
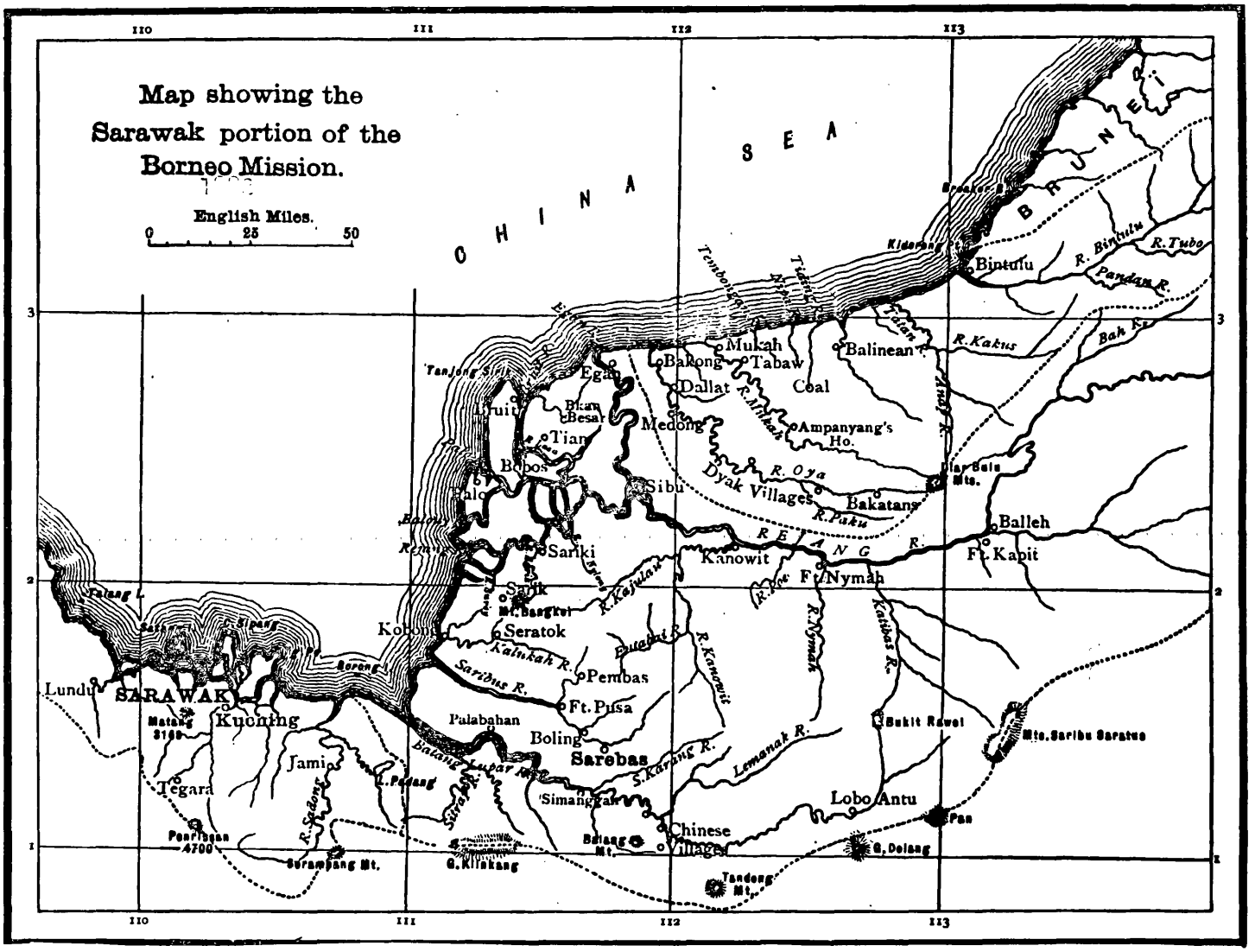
LIST OF UNUSUAL ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Archives of Propaganda.
B.C.G.	Bacile bilié de Calmette-Guérin.
B.E.M.	Borneo Evangelical Mission.
C.F.M.	Christian Farmers Movement.
C.I.M.	Chief Minister's Office.
C.T.S.	Catholic Truth Society.
D.C.L.	Doctor of Canon Law.
F.F.H.C.	Freedom from Hunger Campaign.
G.S.O.	Government Secretary's Office.
JMBRAS*	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
MHFA	Mill Hill Fathers Archives.
NOBATA	North Borneo Anti-Tuberculosis Association.
N.Prot.	Protocol Number.
PAX	Persatuan Agama Katolik Sabah (Sabah Catholic Religious Union).
Puskat	Pusat Katekist (Catechist Centre).
P.O.J.	Police Office Jesselton.
R.O.I.	Resident of the Interior.
R.O.W.C.	Resident of the West Coast.
SABATA	Sabah Anti-Tuberculosis Association.
SBA	Sabah Church Archives.
SBGA	Sabah Government Archives.
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists.
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
SWA	Sarawak Church Archives.
UNKO	United National Kadazan Organization.
UTS	Unified Teachers Scheme.
U.S.I.A.	United Sabah Islamic Association.
Y.C.S.	Young Christian Students.
Y.C.W.	Young Christian Workers.

* JMBRAS is the only journal referred to by its initials. All other journals are referred to by their full titles.



Ecclesiastical Map of Borneo



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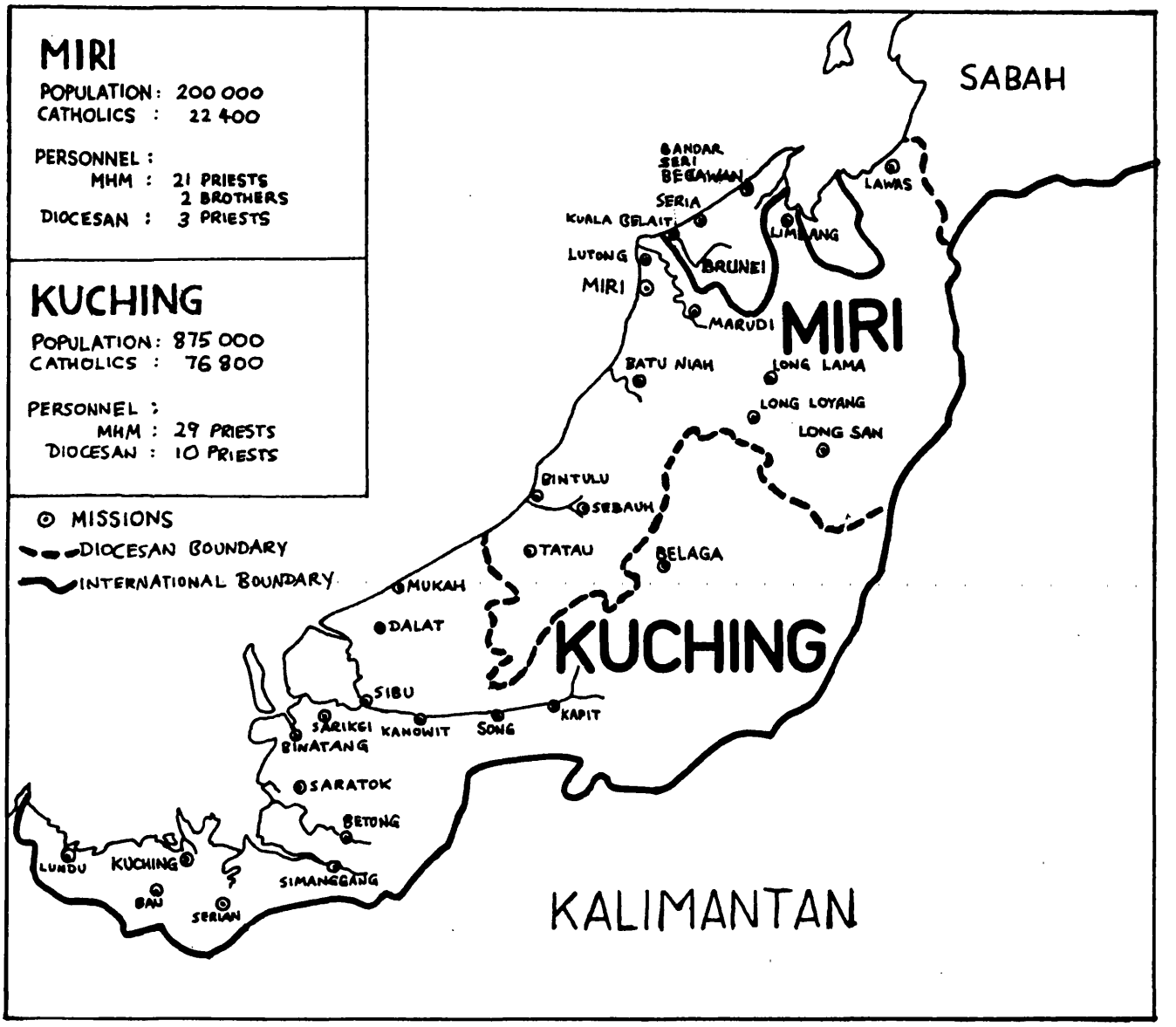
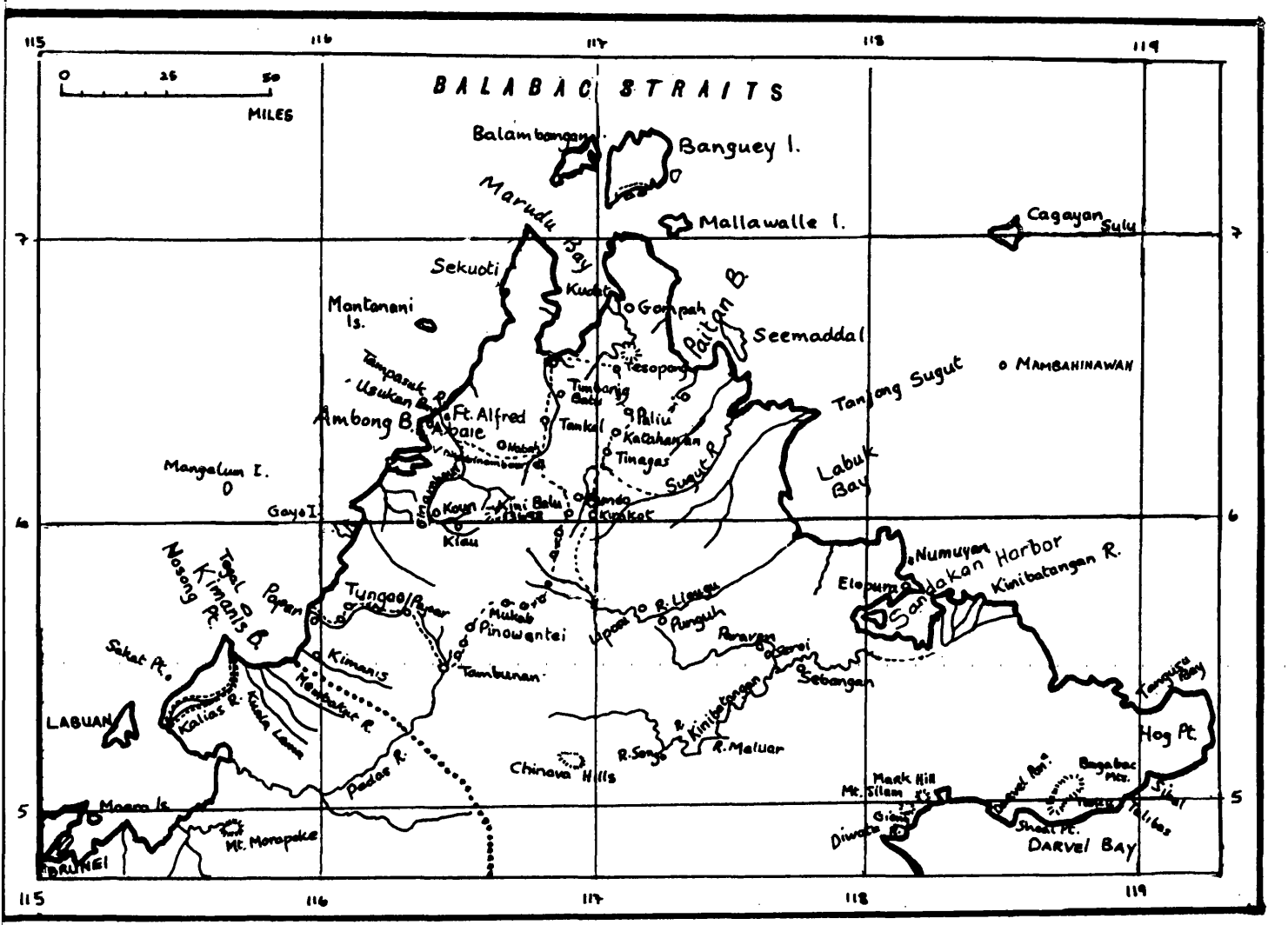


Sarawak Missions 1976


BALABAC STRAITS
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MILES
115
116
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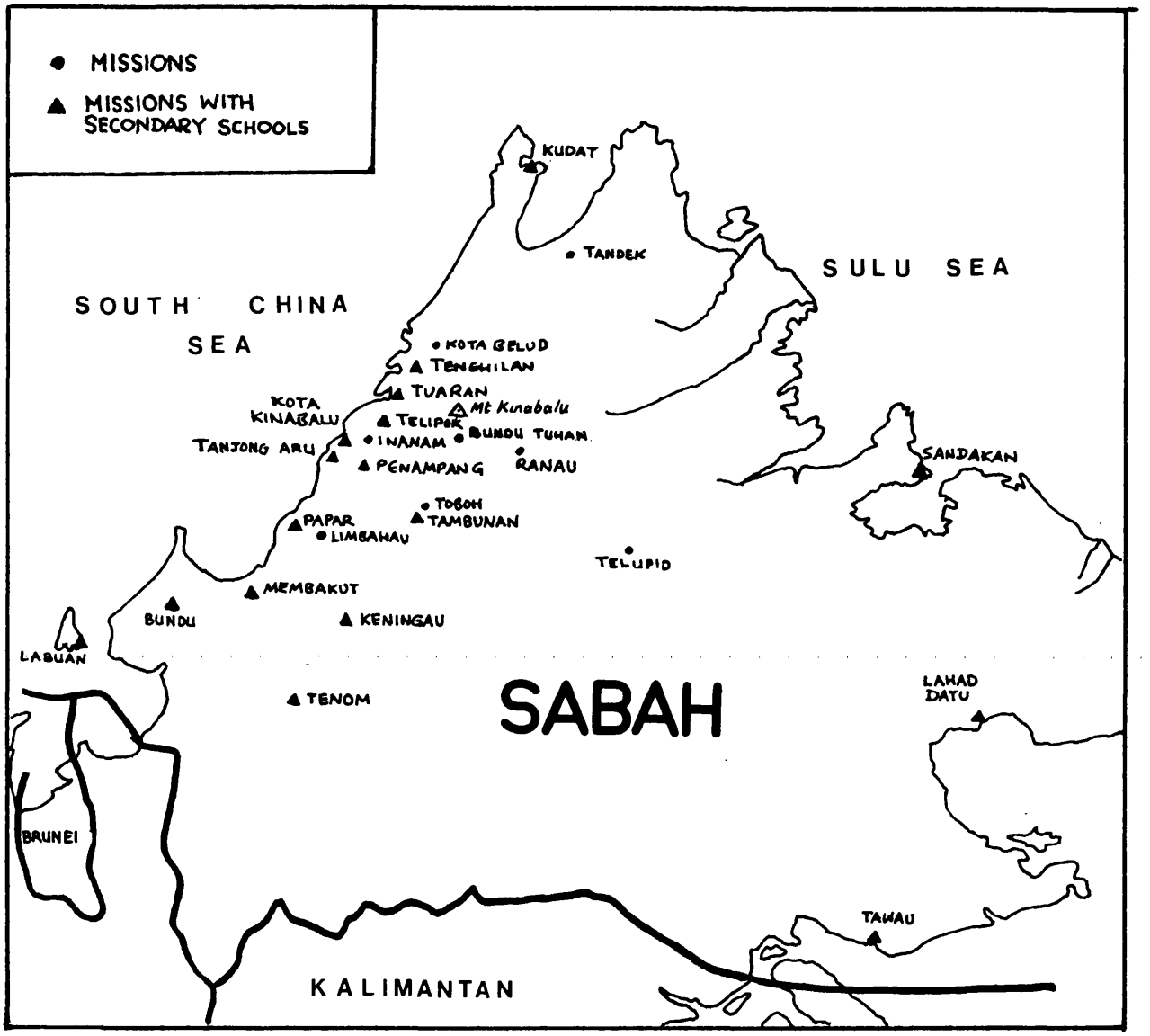
Balambangan
Banguey I.
Mallawalle I.
Cagayan Sulu
Marudu Bay
Kudat
Gompah
Paitan B.
Seemaddal
Sekuoti
Montanani Is.
Tampasuk R.
Usukan B.
Ambong B.
Ft. Alfred
Abaie
Tesopon
Timbaring
Tankal
Paliu
Katahanan
Tinagas
Sugut R.
Tanjong Sugut
MAMBAHINAWAN
Labuk Bay
Mangalum I.
Gaya I.
Kayan
Klau
Tungao/Pagar
Mukah
Pinowantei
Tambunan
Upper R. Liwagu
Punguh
Pararan
Sebangan
Numuyan
Elopura
Sandakan Harbor
Kinibatangan R.
Tegal Papan
Kimanis B.
Nosong Pt.
Sakat Pt.
Kimanis
Kaliias R.
Kuala Lawas
Keningau R.
LABUAN
Padas R.
Chinava Hills
R. Songo
R. Kinibatangan
R. Maluar
Mt. Silam
Mark Hill
Hog Pt.
Bagabac Mt.
Silam
Tulin Is.
Darvel Bay
Monoo Is.
Mt. Monopuke
BRUNEI

SABAH 1882



Sabah Missions 1976

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The earliest European writers about Borneo were under the impression that it was not one, but a cluster of islands, packed close together.[1] It is, in fact, one very large island, situated north of Java, west of Sulawesi, south-west of the Philippines and east of Peninsular Malaysia. The name "Borneo" is of European origin, stemming from the fact that early European relations with the island were centred on Brunei, one of the more important sultanates that claimed sway over it. By far the largest part of Borneo belongs to the modern Republic of Indonesia and is known nowadays as Kalimantan. The part that concerns this study embraces the Sultanate of Brunei and the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak. Between 1882 and 1963 the State of Sabah was known as British North Borneo,[2] a designation that was given to it by the North Borneo Company which was chartered by the British government in 1881 and ruled the state until it became a British colony in 1946. The name "Sarawak" referred in Rajah Brooke's time to the part of Borneo that bordered on the Sarawak river and was roughly equivalent to the First-Division of the modern state that bears the same name.[3] Modern Sarawak is largely the result of successive annexations of territory from the Sultanate of Brunei by the Brookes' government. Brunei is now but a shadow of its former self and comprises only two very small, but wealthy enclaves on the north-west coast of Borneo.

The population of East Malasia and Brunei is very sparse even today and numbers just over $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions, nearly 200,000 of whom are Catholics. Despite its smallness, this population

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1. Tomè Pires Suma Oriental (Hakluyt Society, London, 1944) p.123.
2. It is difficult to discover when exactly the designation was changed from Sabah to North Borneo. K.G. Tregonning, History of Modern Sabah (London, 1965) p.19 is a map which designates North Borneo as "The Territory of Sabah". In the 1882 Chartered Company correspondence, the Governor is designated 'Governor of Sabah', but by 1883 it was common to refer to the territory as 'North Borneo'.
3. G. Irwin, Nineteenth Century Borneo. A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry (Hague, 1955) pp. 72-73.

consists of a large number of peoples and races, each with its own distinctive language and customs. The indigenes may be divided broadly into those who are Muslims and those who are not. The Muslims are the Malays of Sarawak, the Bruneis, the Bajau, the Ilanun and the Orang Sungei. The non-Muslims are the Dayaks, divided into the Singhi, Bidayuh and Sadong Dayaks, the Iban, the Kenyah, the Kayan, the Punan, the Muruts, the Kadazan and a number of smaller tribes.[4] Two borderline peoples are the Melanau and the Bisaya. The Melanaus[5] are part Muslim, part Christian and part Pagan. The Bisaya[6] of Sabah tend to be Muslims, but those of Sarawak are either Christian or pagan. The seven indigenous peoples on whom the Catholic Church has had its strongest impart are the Dayaks,[7] the Iban,[8] the Melanau, the Kenyah,[9] the Kayan[10] in Sarawak, the Kadazan[11] and Muruts[12] in Sabah. In addition to these indigenous peoples there is a substantial immigrant population of Chinese, Filipino, Indonesian, Indian and Ceylonese origins. The Chinese are the most numerous of these and are the main traders and artisans in Borneo. Catholic influence is strongest among the Hakka Chinese, known as Hoppo in Sarawak and Lung Chon and Sinon in Sabah, but there are also large groups of Foochow Catholics in the Third Division of Sarawak and of Cantonese Catholics near Sandakan.[13] The main Catholic concentrations among

4. For more complete details, see C. Hose & W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo (London, 1912), H. Ling Roth, The Natives of Sarawak and North Borneo (London, 1896), O. Rutter, British North Borneo (London, 1932), pp. 51-83.
5. H.S. Morris, Report on a Melanau Sago Producing Community in Sarawak (London, 1953), T. Harrison (Ed.), The Peoples of Sarawak (Kuching, 1959) pp. 85-94
6. Harrison, Sarawak, pp. 95-102. The largest concentration of Bisayan Catholics is in Limbang. They did not begin to enter the Church in large numbers until 1970.
7. Harrison, Sarawak, pp. 27-38.
8. Harrison, Sarawak, pp. 9-26. D. Freeman, Report on the Iban (London, 1970).
9. Harrison, Sarawak, pp. 39-56.
10. Ibid.
11. I.H.N. Evans, The Religion of the Tampasuk Dusuns of North Borneo (London, 1953). T. Williams, The Dusun (London, 1965).
12. Little has been written about the Muruts in Sabah. See Harrison, Sarawak, pp. 57-72.
13. Y.L. Lee, Population and Settlement in Sarawak (Singapore, 1975). E. Lee, The Towkays of Sabah (Singapore, 1976).

the Indians are among the Tamils and the Keralese. One tends to equate the Philippines and Catholicism, but the Filipino immigrants to Borneo, especially in the early 1970's, have often come from the Sulu Archipelago and a large number of them are Muslims.[14] Indonesian Catholic immigration into East Malaysia has been restricted largely to Sabah, the majority of these immigrants coming from West Timor and Flores.

To follow the separate development of each of these groups of Catholics would be quite beyond the sources available at present and would result probably in a very distorted view of the whole. So this study restricts itself to seeking the answer to one simple question: How did the Catholic community in East Malaysian Borneo come to be what it is today?

The first two chapters form the scheme around which the answers to this question are developed. Chapter Three relates how religious life has progressed. Chapter Four examines the steps by which the local Church moved towards its own special personality and learned to begin to stand on its own feet. Chapter Five moves onto the broader stage of the social life of the whole country to learn in how far it has contributed to the social and cultural aspirations of Borneo. Chapter Six deals with the Church's political involvements, and Chapter Seven seeks to gather together the main threads of activity to see what sort of balanced judgement is possible.

The reader will notice that the sources cited are heavily ecclesiastical. This is perhaps not surprising. It is after all a study in ecclesiastical history. There are three other considerations that have prompted this sort of balance. As the first specifically ecclesiastical history of Borneo it needs to affirm the existence of these previously untapped historical sources. Lack of access to them has been a disadvantage to previous writers on Borneo and those bold enough to comment on the Church's contribution to the country have been forced to restrict themselves to commenting on the lives of missionaries they have met, or on

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14. More than 100,000 Muslim refugees from Sulu entered Sabah in the early 1970's. They constitute something of a social embarrassment to the Sabah government. Nothing has yet been published concerning them.

the more obvious activities of the Church such as education. The distinctive features of the Catholic Church are not to be discovered in the tasks it has shared with other missionary bodies and the government, but in the more fundamental qualities it seeks to realise in itself. A third consideration concerns writers who have, wittingly or unwittingly, misrepresented the Church. To give in to the temptation to take up the cudgels against such critics can lead to the same sort of distortions suffered by the attackers, analogous to the principle stated by Søren Kierkegaard: "Dread is a sympathetic antipathy and an antipathetic sympathy".

A full listing of the sources is provided at the end of this study, but some general remarks about them may be relevant at this point. The ten boxes of SBA (Sabah Church Archives) and nine of SWA (Sarawak Church Archives) were collected over a period of six months in 1979 when I visited Borneo for purposes of basic research. The photocopied documents are listed according to their order in the boxes and are numbered to indicate location only. The unnumbered originals are still in Borneo. A systematic subject code was not used lest it might prejudice the results of the study and because the study itself can be regarded as an arrangement of the sources. The French multi-faceted decimal system used for cataloguing books was considered altogether too complicated for the task in hand. A good deal of this study was done by means of interviews. One of the main values of these interviews is that they provided pointers in the search for documentary evidence. They are cited as evidence only when such documentary sources have not been traced. A guiding principle in the earlier use of these interviews was that no fact could be regarded as true unless it was supported by at least two interviewees; but this principle had to be modified to allow for the facts that the evidence of a number of interviews could be traced to a common source and that some of the information that came from special interviews, such as those with Bishop Buis, was necessarily of very limited circulation. The bibliography is perhaps a little more extensive than might be expected. The reason for this is that the inclusion of all the material that has been researched would have rendered the study inordinately long, but it seemed valuable to retain in the bibliography the source references to those topics which have been researched, but had to be excluded from the final draft.

To state that this study is entirely my own work would be as untrue as it would be ungracious. I am grateful to the Mill Hill Missionaries and MISSIO, Aachen, for covering the costs entailed. Mission stations in Borneo, PAX of Kota Kinabalu and the Mill Hill houses in the Netherlands, Germany and the Tyrol saw that I was fed and sheltered between October 1978 and July 1979 when I was engaged in the basic research. St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, provided the atmosphere that permitted the work to progress. The archivists of the Mill Hill Missionaries in London and the Netherlands, the Archdiocese of Kuching, the Diocese of Kota Kinabalu, the Sabah State Archives, the Sarawak Museum, the Roman archives of the Theatines and of Propaganda Fide gave generous access to their unpublished materials. The Sarawak Library, the Museum Brunei, the Library of the House of Commons and the Diocese of Miri introduced me to some very rare and relevant printed materials. I add to these the numerous librarians and archivists who answered my questions with patience and care.

The names of persons who have made special contributions to this study are listed alphabetically to avoid any comparative evaluation of the help they gave: Fr. P. Aichner, Fr. W. Armour Fr. G. Bruggeman, Bro. Jacques v. Cruchten, Sr. Germaine F.M.S.J. Fr. W. Holohan, Fr. S. de Jong, Fr. L. Kessels, Datuk Herman Luping, Mrs. M. Moore, Fr. W. Mol, Mr. R. Nicholl, Datuk James Onkili, Fr. M. Senders, Mr. D. Solusa, Mr. A. Sullivan and Bishop Tarcisius van Valenberg.

Special thanks are due to Fr. Peter Dirven and Fr. Joseph Staal. Fr. Dirven was kind enough to use part of a trip to Rome to track down special materials in the archives of Propaganda Fide and the Theatines. He read with painstaking care many sections of this study and made several valuable critical assessments that tempered and corrected a good deal of what is stated about developments in missionary church law. Even a cursory glance at the notes will give the reader some idea of the extent of my debt to Fr. Staal. He died on 7 May 1944. After the golden jubilee of the mission in 1931 he was commissioned to write a history and spent many years collecting and collating the materials that were still available in the 1930's. Many of the documents he used have been lost, but the four volumes of his ms. notes are still

preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Kuching. I am grateful for having had access to these notes and for being given the opportunity to complete the work he initiated so long ago.

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CHAPTER ONE

B E G I N N I N G S

Borneo before 1850 was a backwater in the general stream of Far Eastern Christian missionary endeavour, but it was not entirely ignored. The earliest wave of such activity, the Nestorian and Armenian missions of the seventh and eighth centuries, seems to have passed it by entirely.[1] There is good reason to believe, however, that the Franciscan missions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries paid it some attention and Friar Oderic of Pordenone spent some months there circa 1320.[2] Portuguese interest in sixteenth century Borneo was conditioned by its relevance to to the spice markets. For that reason the Portuguese paid attention only to Brunei, which they valued as a staging post on the way to the Moluccas. Though naval chaplains called regularly at Brunei, there is no record of any serious missionary work being undertaken there.[3] Fr. Anthony Periera, the only Portuguese priest to stay in Borneo for any length of time (1608-9), stopped in Borneo more by misfortune than design. He was shipwrecked there and, after being held captive by the Ilanun, he was rescued and befriended by the Sultan of Brunei.[4] The Spanish showed an active interest in Borneo once they had established themselves at Manila and, during the

1. For fuller treatment of this topic see C. Cary Elwes, China and the Cross (London, 1957), pp. 23-37, concerning the evidence of the Nestorian or Si-ngan monument, the full Syriac and Chinese text of which is found with an English translation in P.Y. Saeki, The Nestorian Monument in China (London, 1916). See also H.Havret, La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fu (Shanghai, 1897), B.E. Colless,"The Traders of the Pearl", Abr Nahrain, v.13 (1972-3), pp.115-35, v.14 (1973-4), pp.1-15, v.15 (1974-5),pp. 6-17.
2. R. Nicholl,"Oderic of Pordenone", Brunei Museum Journal, v.3 no.3 (1973), pp. 62-65, A.v.d.Wijngaert, Relatio Beati Odorici de Portu Naonis (Florence, 1927), H. Cordier, Les Voyages en Asie du Bienheureux Odéric de Pordenone (Paris, 1891), H. Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither (London, 1915), J. Thauren, Atlas der Geschichte der Katolischen Missionen (Molding bei Wien,1933) blat no.5 and J. Richard, La Papauté et les Missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (Rome, 1977).
3. E.H. Blair and J.R. Robertson, The Philippine Islands 1493 - 1898 (Cleveland, U.S.A., 1905) v.3 p.185 and v.5 p. 436, and Documenta Historica Societatis Jesu, v.109, Documenta Maluccensia (Rome, 1974), p. 46* DD 141,1; 148, 5-10; 156.
4. F. Colin & P. Pastells, Labor Evangelica de los Obreros de la Compania di Jesus en las Islas Filipinas (Barcelona, 1900), Anon, Ragvali d' Alcuni Missioni fate della Compagnia di Gesu nell India Orientali (Rome, 1615), R. Nicholl, European Sources for the History of the Sultanate of Brunei (Brunei, 1975). The Sultan of Brunei is not identified in the sources.

governorship of Don Francisco de Sande (1575-80), they planned to bring it within their sphere of influence and establish a colony there.[5] These colonization plans came to nothing and Spanish visits to Borneo soon took on the same pattern as those of the Portuguese. The exception to this general pattern was a series of raids on the East Coast of Borneo, led by Don Pedro Duran de Montforte in 1648-9. The Jesuit chaplains who accompanied these expeditions claim that they made seven hundred local converts.[6] They had great hopes of establishing a flourishing mission in Borneo, but they were unsuccessful and we can attribute their lack of success to the closeness of their ties with the Spanish military power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the influence of the Church in South East Asia waxed and waned more or less as the power of Portugal and Spain expanded and contracted.[7]

The first really planned mission to Borneo was that of the Theatines, led by Fr. Antonino Ventimiglia in 1689.[8] This mission seemed to have strong chances of success and started with a flourish on the Barito river, close to Banjirmasin. It was closed, a victim of political intrigue, when Fr. Ventimiglia died, in 1691 or 1692. The Theatines strove for many years to reopen it, but they were unsuccessful and they served instead as chaplains to the Catholic employees of the British East India Company at Benkolen.[9]

(ii)

The modern missionary period in Borneo can be said to have begun in 1807. The French conquest of the Netherlands in 1795 brought about the fall of the States General and the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands under Louis Bonaparte in 1806 resulted in an easing of the civil disabilities that had been suffered hitherto by Dutch Catholics.

5. Blair & Robertson, v.4 pp. 152,169 ff., 183 ff., 214, v.34 p. 267. Colin & Pastells, Labor Evangelica, v.3 bk.3 c.3 pp. 32 ff. and Nicholl, Sources, p.76 entry no. 94, note 2.
6. F. de Santa Inez, Cronica de PP Franciscanos Filipinos (Manila, 1892), v.I pp. 404 ff., Blair & Robertson, v.7 p.83, Nicholl, Sources, p. 77.
7. Colin & Pastells, Labor Evangelica, v.3 bk.4 p. 803, P.M. Vellarde, Jesuit Missionaries in the Seventeenth Century (Manila, 1749).
8. B. Ferro, Istoria delle Missioni de' Chierici Teatine (Rome, 1705), v.II pp. 501-675, A. Spalla, "Le Missioni Teatine nelle India Orientali nel Sec. XVII e le Cause della Loro Fine", Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina, v.27 (1971) pp. 1-76, v.28 (1972) pp. 265-305, v.29 (1973) pp. 3-37, R. Nicholl, "The Mission of Fr. Antonino Ventimiglia to Borneo", Brunei Museum Journal, v.2 no.4 (1972) pp. 183-205.
9. R.M. Wiltgen, " The Evangelization Congregation at the Service of Java, Borneo and Celebes", Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina, v.29 no.99 (1973) p. 131.

The easier Catholic political position contributed in 1807 to the establishment of the Prefecture Apostolic of the East Indies with headquarters at Batavia, raised in 1842 to the status of a Vicariate. Borneo fell within its authority, but did not benefit much from its new position. For in some sense the Prefecture was a paper camel. Its legal status was unusual in that it was an appendage of the Dutch mission of the Netherlands and it was to be staffed by Dutch secular priests. It lacked funds and personnel and, for the first thirty years of its existence, it made little missionary progress.[10] Further missionary activity in Borneo had to await the arrival of Don Carlos Cuarteron.

Cuarteron was one of the most extraordinary missionaries ever to set foot in Borneo, but the little that is known about him raises more questions than it answers. The Mill Hill Missionaries have been responsible largely for creating the myth that he was a reformed pirate slaver who repented of his sins and spent his life and his fortune in the service of the land he had wronged so much.[11] It is fitting therefore that this study should attempt to set the record straight.

His name is rendered in different ways : Quarteron, Cuarteron y Fernandez, Cuarteroni and Cuarteron.[12] Cuarteroni would seem to be the most accurate rendering, but he is referred to in almost all contemporary English sources as Cuarteron, the rendering followed here. Born of Roman and Milanese parents in Seville, some say Cadiz, he was trained for the sea and soon achieved his captaincy in the South China Seas. Some time in the early 1840s he had the good fortune to salvage a bullion ship that had been wrecked near Labuan and his share of the prize money, assessed at £200,000,[13] made him such a wealthy man that he thought of retiring in Spain, but, bored with shore life, he bought himself a galliot , the Lynx, and returned to the sea. He joined the third order of Trinitarians and tried to combine in himself the roles of slave-redeemer, merchant and missionary. In the latter role, he tended to baptize quite indiscriminately with little after care of his Christian converts. His commercial enterprises were failures and he gained a reputation quite out of keeping with his stated aims. The Chinese thought he was an opium smuggler. The British

10.A. Mulders, Missiegeschiedenis (Bussum, 1957), p.393. Anon., Guida delle Missioni Catholice (Rome, 1934), p.335.

11.J. Staal, " Van Slavenjager tot Missionaris", Annalen (1930-40) pp.202-05. Anon.,"From Pirate to Priest", Hong Kong Mission Bulletin, v.7 (1955), pp. 25-25.

12.J.B. Tragella, Le Missioni Estere di Milano nel Quadro degli Avenimenti Contemporanei (Milan, 1950) p. 189, no. 14. The account that follows uses Tragella as its main source.

13.MHFA-13-A-14 (retro), T.Jackson to P. Benoit, 15 Oct. 1881. There is no way of telling whether Fr. Jackson was using guesswork in this assessment or whether he had it from a reliable source.

thought he was a harbourer of pirates. The Spanish did not know what to make of him, but they were sure that his presence was objectionable. They harassed him and at one time put a price on his head. Eventually he burned the Lynx and sought refuge in Batavia where he met the Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. G. Vranken, and reported on the state of the Church in Sulawesi and Mindanao. In Singapore he met the Franciscan Fr. J. Felicioni who was first to interest him in Borneo as a possible field of labour.[14] In 1852 he arrived in Rome and presented a memorial to Propaganda (referred to as the Quadri) concerning the missions in the Far East.[15] Later he expanded this memorial into a book that was published by Propaganda in 1855.[16] The Quadri made an excellent impression on the Curia and the Cardinals were very happy to accept his offer to organize and finance missions to Borneo and Melanesia. In 1855 he was ordained priest by Cardinal Franzoni[17] and in August of that year, when the Prefecture of Labuan and Borneo was erected, he was appointed Prefect and given as his assistants two Milan Foreign Missionaries, Frs. F. Riva and A. Borgazzi.[18]

To understand the Milan Foreign Missionaries' involvement in the project it is necessary to know something about the missions in Melanesia. These missions were generally the responsiblity of the Marist Fathers and included two islands, Rook and Woodlark, where the Marists had lost so many priests that they asked permission to withdraw. Propaganda invited the Fathers of the Seminary of San Calocero, Milan (the Milan Foreign Missionaries, known nowadays as the PIME) to take over. In 1852 they sent out five missionaries, Frs. Salerio, Raimondi, Reina, Mazzuconi and Ambrosoli. Very soon they also applied for permission to withdraw and their petition came to Propaganda at the same time as Cuarteron's mission proposal was being considered. It was thought suitable then that the two Melanesian missions should be closed temporarily, that the Milan Foreign Missionaries be invited to join up with Cuarteron and that the responsibility of the Borneo mission be extended to the reopening of the Milan missions in Melanesia at a later date. Frs. Borgazzi and Riva were assigned to help Cuarteron and the others were told to place themselves at the disposal of Mgr. J.B. Polding, Vicar Apostolic of Sydney until

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14. Tragella, Missioni Estere, p.190.
15. AP Acta v.219 (1855) pp. 818-819a. The Quadri is available on microfilm in MHFA.
16. C. Cuarteron, Spiegazione e Traduzione dei XV Quadri relativi alle Isole di Silababoo, Talaor, Sanguy, Nanuse, Mindanao, Celebes, Borneo, Bahalatolis, Tambisan, Sulu, Toolyan e Labuan (Propaganda, Rome, 1855)
17. Tragella seldom gives Christian names or initials and the researching of these minor details has proved beyond the resources of this study. He sometimes Italianizes names; e.g. John Bede Polding= Giovani Beda P.
18. Tragella, Missioni Estere, p. 191.

they received further instructions.[19]

Fr. Cuarteron received his formal appointment on 5 September and on 19 October he went with Frs. Borgazzi and Riva to Cadiz, where they remained for four months. Both Borgazzi and Riva thought that this was an unnecessarily long delay, but Cuarteron wanted them to study some navigation, carpentry and medicine, skills he regarded as necessary for the practical missionary. On 25 February 1856 they set out for Manila and the Fathers in Syndey were instructed to join them there. The Cuarteron group arrived in Manila on 16 June and the Sydney group on 16 September.[20] The final party did not leave for Borneo until March 1857 and consisted of Frs. Cuarteron, Reina, Raimondi, Borgazzi, Riva, Signor Tacchini and a Melanesian called Puarer. Tacchini seems to have been some sort of catechist and Puarer, a native of Rook Island, had cooperated in the murder of Fr. Mazzuconi there the previous year. Repentant of his crime, he had decided to become a Christian and place his services at the disposal of the Fathers. In addition to these there were two Filipino boys Cuarteron had adopted, a crew of ten sailors and a cook. Their ship, I Martiri di Tongkin, and two feluccas, the Refugium Paccatorum and the Consolatrix Afflictorum, arrived in Labuan on 8 May 1857.[21]

Fr. Cuarteron decided that the first station should be set up at Labuan under the charge of Fr. Borgazzi. By the good offices of the British representative at Brunei, Spencer St. John, he was able to acquire a site a Barambangan, about a mile from Brunei town, and entrusted Fr.Riva with the task of building a mission there, but he did not take up residence immediately. Instead he accompanied Fr. Cuarteron to North Borneo to help him to establish a station at Mengkabong sometime in November-December 1857. Once these three stations were agreed upon, Fr. Cuarteron wished to delay consideration of openings in other parts of Melanesia, but by February of the following year he had to agree at least to an exploratory trip with Raimondi and Reina. They arrived in Singapore to find that fresh instructions had been sent there for the Italian missionaries. Reina and Raimondi were directed immediately to Hong Kong. Fr. Cuarteron brought them there and helped them settle in before returning to Labuan. Almost immediately he went off to Manila and Macao and did not return for another thirteen months.[22]

Meanwhile, Borgazzi's work in Labuan was producing very slow and gradual results. Riva's efforts at Barambangan were showing more evident

19. Guida (1934) pp. 342a, 347a. Tragella, Missioni Estere, p. 192.
20. Tragella, Missioni Estere, pp. 195, 232-5.
21. Ibid. pp. 235-44.
22. Ibid. 245-9.

success. He had collected quite sizeable Christian community and had made some contacts with the Muruts of the interior, but he suffered from the harassments of a local pengiran who raided the little community for slaves. When Cuarteron returned he was a changed man, quiet, withdrawn and worried. Borgazzi thought that he must have some money troubles, that he wanted to resign, but could not quite make up his mind to take the final decision. He quarrelled with Borgazzi over the repairs to the Labuan church and, when Riva reported his troubles in Brunei, he reacted by suggesting the the Spanish governor of the Philippines be invited to send a a gunboat to teach Sultan Abdul Mumin his manners. Despite all these troubles, the Italian missionaries were quite aghast in 1859 when they received instructions to close their missions in Borneo and proceed immediately to join their colleagues in Hong Kong. One of the reasons suggested for this extraordinary instruction was that the intemperate zeal of the missionaries had put Riva in danger of assassination by the Bruneis and made the British government desirous of deporting Borgazzi. Tragella seems to suggest that Cuarteron had complained to Propaganda in this vein.[23] According to the Memoria Rerum Cuarteron wrote to Propaganda in such depressing terms concerning the prospects of the mission that Propaganda removed the Milan priests.[24] Neither of these explanations seems sufficiently credible.

After the departure of Borgazzi and Riva Cuarteron continued in Borneo for another twenty years. There is little record of what he did during that time and towards the end his letters became so confused as to be virtually unintelligible. In 1879 he returned to Rome to resign his charge and in March the following year he died at Seville, a poor man, leaving in Borneo an estate of a few hundred dollars, a yacht and some coconut trees.[25] Whatever happened to his fortune? St. John claimed that he frittered it away in harebrained speculation, but that Cuarteron claimed that he had given the money to Propaganda and Propaganda had applied it to other purposes.[26] Some have suggested that it disappeared in the Italian wars of independence, but this view sounds odd if we note that Garibaldi's march on Rome occurred a good eight years after St. John published his statement.

Cuarteron's view of mission had three constituents. He aimed to announce the Gospel in Borneo and in the islands round about it. He desired

23. Ibid., pp. 249-54.
24. J. Metzler, Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum (Rome, Freiburg & Vienna, 1971-6) v.3 p.497.
25. MHFA Vaughan-Benoit letters, no.178, ?? Nov. 188?.
26. S. St.John, Life in the Forests of the Far East (London, 186?) v.? p. 367.

to build groups of redeemed slaves into self-supporting Christian communities. He wanted mission work and commerce to go hand in hand.[27] His purpose in freeing the slaves showed depth of feeling and is a method that has been used with some success in some parts of the world.[28] Yet the raids on the Christian community of freed slaves in Brunei meant that freedom from slavery could be achieved only by returning the freed slaves to the Philippines whence they had come orignally. Cuarteron's views on missions and commerce are not as misguided as might appear at first sight and follow in the traditions of Muslim missionary work and the ideals of some Protestant missionaries of the day.[29] The qualities , however, which marked his work for failure were a certain indecisiveness of character and a spirit of wanderlust. It took him more than a year and a half to take up his appointment and he had hardly started work before he was off on a mysterious and unexplained trip to Manila and Macao. J. Pope Hennessy remarked on his tendency to wanderlust and tells us that he was often away from Labuan for quite long periods.[30] Few people knew what he was about and he gained a reputation of being a Spanish agent, working against British interests in Labuan and South East Asia generally.[31] It is impossible to prove or disprove these theories of his activities.

(iii)

The mission of Cuarteron started with a fanfare and ended in a whimper, but the full extent of his failure was not really known until the arrival of the Mill Hill Missionaries in 1881. This society, known officially as the Society of St. Joseph for Foreign Missions, was founded in March 1866 by Fr. Herbert Vaughan, the eldest son of Colonel John Vaughan and Eliza Rolls of Courtfield, Ross on Wye. Born on 15 April 1832, he came of a family that traced its descent from Caradoc Vreich Vras, one of the Knights of the Round Table, but he gave up his rights as heir of Courtfield to become a priest and was to have a very distinguished ecclesiastical career. He became bishop of Salford in 1872 and in March 1892 he succeeded Cardinal Manning as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. He died in June 1903, and his requiem was the first service offered in Westminster Cathedral, the building of which had occupied him during his final years. The first work entrusted to the society he had founded in 1866 was the care of Catholic negro parishes in the United States of

27. Cuarteron , Spiegazione, part I.
28. The first missions of the Holy Ghost Fathers to Mombasa used this method with some success.
29. This view is normally attributed to David Livinstone.
30. MHFA-13-A-4 to 4b, J. Pope Hennessy to Vaughan, 8 Aug. 1870.
31. N. Tarling, Sulu and Sabah (Kuala Lumpur,1978), pp.98,99,110,150.

America. These negro missions did not, however, measure up to the aims that Herbert Vaughan had in mind for his society and, even before the American commitment was finalized, he was working towards being assigned fields of work outside Europe and America. In 1870 the first inkling that the society might gain such a field comes in a letter to Lady Herbert of Lea of 11 May 1870 where Herbert Vaughan states that Cardinal Barnabo had informed him that he would soon give orders that the Prefecture of Labuan and Borneo be assigned to the Mill Hill Missionaries and that he would write immediately to Mgr. Cuarteron to obtain his consent.[32] At first, Fr. Vaughan was enthusiastic about the idea, but he seems to have been in contact with the Milan Foreign Missionaries and within a fortnight he had begun to change his mind. The fears that were then uppermost were the scorching heat, the malignant fevers and the Muslims that might hamper the work.[33] There is no indication that he actually refused the Borneo mission at that time and Governor J. Pope Hennessy of Labuan reports that Cuarteron was well disposed towards the idea of receiving missionaries from Mill Hill.[34] There is, however, no record of any official approach by Propaganda concerning the subject and between 1871 and 1876 there is no further mention of the Borneo mission in any of the correspondence that survives. We may suspect that Cuarteron's indecisiveness may have had a part to play in the reasons for this silence. In 1871 the Mill Hill Missionaries accepted an invitation to send priests to the United States of America. In 1872, when Fr. Vaughan was appointed Bishop of Salford, he had to find a new rector the college at Mill Hill and he chose Canon P. Benoit, a Belgian priest of Salford Diocese and not at that time a memeber of St. Joseph's Society. In 1875 Mill Hill priests were sent for the first time to assist in the Diocese of Madras. All these concerns may have pushed into the background any consideration of the Borneo mission.

On 15 October 1876 Mrs. E. Rodway wrote to and English Benedictine priest, Fr. McKay,[35] to complain that her son, W.H. Rodway, an officer in the Sarawak service, lacked opportunity to fulfil his religious duties.[36] Fr. McKay forwarded the letter to Mill Hill and on 27 October Bishop wrote to Propaganda, asking that the proposal for the Borneo mission be reconsidered. A minute in the Propaganda Archives of 13 July 1877 states that reconsideration of this matter must await the expected arrival in Rome

32. S. Leslie, Letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea (London, 1942), p. 180.
33. Ibid., pp. 182,184.
34. See no.30 above.
35. No initial for Fr. McKay is given in the sources.
36. AP Oceania 11/2 p. 1833. The original letter no longer exists. The Propaganda version is a French translation made by Fr. P. Benoit.

of Mgr. Cuarteron.[37] At the same time Cuarteron was in correspondence with the government of Sarawak, attempting unsuccessfully to persuade the Rajah to admit an Augustinian missionary.[38] The Guida delle Missioni Catholice of 1934 reports that Propaganda's intention was to hand over British controlled Borneo to an English speaking missionary institute and leave Cuarteron to handle the parts under Spanish control.[39] This plan is interesting as a measure of the ignorance of Propaganda concerning the local Borneo situation. Spain never had effective control over Borneo for any length of time and the claims she entertained arose from her conquest of Sulu. The cession of Sulu's rights in North Borneo had been granted to the British government first by the 1761 Dalrymple cession and again by the James Brooke treaty of 1846.[40] By 1878 Propaganda had gained a more accurate grasp of the situation and on 28 June wrote to inform Mgr. Cuarteron that the Spanish plan was impracticable.[41]

In June 1878 Fr. Benoit was sent to discuss the matter with the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and it seems from the memorial he presented and the reports of his discussions that a decision to give the mission to the Mill Hill Missionaries had been finalized;[42] but in July, when the matter was raised in a plenary session of the Congregation, the Cardinal suspened all discussion on Borneo until Cuarteron had arrived in Rome.[43] He had written on 27 March to Cuarteron, giving him explicit permission to come to Rome, a permission that was tantamount to ordering him to leave Borneo,[44] but he did not arrive in Rome until the end of 1879. His resignation was requested and accepted. The way was now clear for a completely new start in the Borneo mission.

We might expect arrangements for the transfer of the mission would have moved ahead very quickly from this point and it is evident that Bishop Vaughan wished a speedy conclusion of affairs.Benoit, however, was in a more careful frame of mind and did not reply quickly to Bishop Vaughan's request that he should advise him concerning who would be the most suitable person to send as Prefect of the new mission.[45] Fr. Benoit's reason for hesitation concerned the request made in 1879 that the society should send priests to serve as chaplains to the British troops in the

37. AP Lettere N.373(1877) p.316. No copy of Vaughan's letter of 17 Oct. 1876 survives.
38. AP Oceania 11/2 pp. 1313-1314, Cuarteron to C. Brooke and C.Brooke to Cuarteron, 1 & 8 May 1877.
39. Guida, p. 328.
40. Tarling, Sulu and Sabah, pp. 1-45, 52-89.
41. AP Lettere N.374 (1878) p.312, Propaganda to Cuarteron, 27 March 1878.
42. AP Oceania 11/2 pp. 1828-33.
43. AP Acta (1878) v. 246 ff. 650-53.
44. See note 41 above.
45. MHFA Vaughan-Benoit Letters, no. 137(b), 15 Feb. 1880.

the Afghanistan campaign and it had been promised that, once the campaign was over, a new mission territory in Northern India would be assigned to its care. Benoit counselled, therefore, that the society's Afghan affairs should be settled satisfactorily before sending men to Borneo.[46] Vaughan's reply was to press harder and demand three names for submission to Propaganda.[47] He decided also that the already hard pressed Indian mission must provide a superior for Borneo. The first choice was Fr. J. Aelen who was later to become a bishop in India. Fr. G. Browne, the superior of the Indian mission, was very distressed at the prospect of losing so valuable a priest and soon the choice swung in favour of Fr. Thomas Jackson.[48] Fr. Benoit seems to have raised objections to this choice. For Bishop Vaughan wrote to him on 5 February 1881 to demand his reasons for objecting to the choice of Fr. Jackson.[49] On 15 March the bishop took the matter entirely into his own hands and simply submitted Fr. Jackson's name to Propaganda, knowing well that Propaganda could do nothing except appoint his nominee.[50] By the end of March the appointment was made and Fr. Jackson was instructed to clear up his affairs in India and proceed first to Singapore and then to Borneo.[51]

Fr. Jackson was born in Preston, Lancashire, in 1846 and received a basic elementary education at the local parish school. After leaving school he worked as a general handyman, for some years he was employed as a servant at Stonyhurst College and, at the time he decided to study for the priesthood he was sacristan at the Westminster pro-cathedral. Fr. Benoit accepted him into St. Joseph's College when he was in his late twenties and, out of consideration for his age and maturity, special courses were provided for his preparation and training. He was ordained priest on 28 September 1879. This special treatment was perhaps amply justified by his future success as a priest, but it also gave him an inferiority complex in academic matters. His Latin was poor, but adequate and though he showed a rare sensitive touch in pastoral matters, he was always unsure of himself in what concerned professional judgement, particularly in reference to Canon Law. His first appointment was that of chaplain to the British troops in the Afghan campaign. There he became something of a hero, was mentioned in dispatches and was a favourite among both Catholic and non-Catholic soldiers. When he was appointed to Borneo, the troops organized a collection to buy him a set of plate, but

46. Ibid., Benoit's draft reply, 13 April 1880.
47. MHFA Vaughan -Benoit Letters, no.143(a), 21 June 1880.
48. MHFA-19-G-27, Brown to Jackson, Kabul, 30 April 1880.
49. MHFA Vaughan-Benoit Letters, no. 153(a), 5 Feb. 1881.
50. MHFA Vaughan Benoit Letters, no. 155(b), 15 March 1881.
51. MHFA Vaughan-Benoit Letters, no. 157, 30 March 1881.

he begged that the money be donated instead to the Borneo mission. S. Baring Gould and C.A. Bampfylde seem to be under the impression that this money was the basis of the financing of the Borneo mission,[52] but though it amounted to a generous £200, it fell far short of the sums of money needed for such an undertaking. There was a delay in obtaining Fr. Jackson's release from the British army at Quetta and he did not arrive in Borneo until August 1881.

He found that his assistants had arrived ahead of him and that they had gone on to Borneo to start work in accordance with his written instructions. There were three of them: Fr. Aloysius Goossens, Fr. Edmund Dunn and Fr. Daniel Kilty. Fr. Goossens was a Dutchman of unusual ability in language studies and was for a time tutor in science and mathematics at St. Joseph's College. He was a fairly wealthy man in his own right and, though he used his fortune mainly for the mission, he had a stubborn streak in his character that did not brook opposition and he did not suffer fools gladly. His very close friend was Fr. Dunn, a Dubliner of rather slight boyish figure, with charming Irish manners and a quite outstanding ability in linguistic and ethnological studies. Fr. Kilty, a Liverpudlian, was the outsider of the group. He lasted only a few years and then asked for and obtained a transfer to the Indian mission. He died in Kashmir on 23 April 1889.

The main financial backing for the mission came from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, Lyons, which made an initial grant of 14,000 francs and was to continue to make similar grants to the mission for many successive years.[53] Later the Holy Childhood, Paris, made similar grants for work in education and with orphans.

The three young priests set off from London in March 1881 and met Bishop Vaughan in Rome. They had a private audience with Pope Leo XIII and, a few days later, Bishop Vaughan conducted them to Trieste where they took ship for Singapore. They were instructed to await Fr. Jackson at Singapore and arrived there in May. They were especially welcome to the Vicar Apostolic in Singapore, who had been quarrelling with the De La Salle Brothers at St. Joseph's Institute. Since the Brothers had just walked out of the Institute and left it without management, the three Mill Hill priests were able to step into the breach until alternative arrangements could be made.[54] Fr. Jackson's unexpected delay at Quetta led to a change in their instructions. Fr. J. Saliles of the Paris

52. S.Baring Gould & C.A. Bampfylde, A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs (London, 1909), p.449.
53. AP Congregazione Particolari, v.376 (1880) f. 582 (retro).
54. Anon., L'Institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes: Asie Lointaine (Paris, undated), pp.502-7.

Foreign Missionaries proceeded with Frs. Dunn and Goossens to Kuching in July and Fr. Kilty remained behind in Singapore to await the arrival of Fr. Jackson. In August Frs. Jackson and Kilty sailed for LABUAN.

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CHAPTER TWO

P R E F E C T S A N D V I C A R S

When Frs. E. Dunn, A. Goossens and J. Saliles with a Chinese catechist arrived in Kuching on the afternoon of 10 July 1881 they were met by the private secretary of Rajah Charles Brooke,[1] who conducted them immediately to the Sarawak Hotel. Next morning they met the Rajah himself and discussed future prospects for the mission. The Rajah had set aside ten acres of land for the use of the mission in Kuching, but he suggested that its main efforts should be directed to Upper Sarawak and the Rejang. The site granted by the Rajah was a very fine one and had already been cleared of jungle, but there were no buildings on it and the Fathers, worried about the costs of a long stay at the hotel, asked for the temporary loan of a government bingalow until such time as proper accomodation could be provided. The Rajah agreed to this request, but he suggested that they should first pay a visit to the Rejang and arranged for them to make the trip in his own yacht.[3] On their return to Kuching a fortnight later, they discovered that the Ranee Margaret had already furnished the bungalow for them and they were able to settle very quickly into their new home.[4] Within a few days they were ready to make their first exploratory trip into Sarawak and set off, full of enthusiasm. During the first day Fr. Saliles hurt his foot and had to return to rest in Kuching before returning to Singapore in early August.[5] In late August Fr. T. Jackson arrived. He instructed Fr. Goossens to base

1. Charles Johnson, nephew of Rajah Sir James Brooke of Sarawak, accepted his uncles name and became Charles Brooke, Tuan Muda of Sarawak in 1852. In 1868 he succeeded his uncle as Rajah and ruled Sarawak until his death in 1917.
2. SBA-10-124 and following, A. Goossens, "The Beginnings of the Borneo Mission", (12 page typescript memoire, written in 1933), p.2
3. Ibid.,p. 3
4. Ibid., p. 5.
5. Some documents spell this name'Salcilles'. The 'Saliles' rendering is chosen because it occurs most often.

himself at Kuching and Fr. Dunn to search for a suitable site on the banks of the Rejang.[6]

Fr. Goossens soon moved away from Kuching and wandered extensively throughout the ditrict in and around Bau, talking to the people and trying to interest them in the Gospel. Wherever he thought that he was likely to achieve success he built small bamboo chapels, but there was really very little result to show for his activity. In 1883 Fr. Jackson summoned him to Kuching to inform him that instructions had been received from Mill Hill that he must return there to teach science and mathematics.[7] Fr. Goossens' diary gives the impression that his recall to Mill Hill was in 1884, but in the same account he reports that it coincided with the volcanic eruption on Krakatoa, a year earlier. He was to be five years at Mill Hill before he was permitted to return to Borneo.

Fr. Dunn went first to Sibu where he lived in a small shed attached to the government school.[8] The Resident, Mr. J.B. Lowe, suggested that the best place to open a mission would be at Sari near the mouth of the River Rejang and Fr. Dunn soon settled there.[10] Unexpectedly, the settlement at Sari displeased the Rajah and Fr. Dunn was instructed to seek a mission site further up the river.[10] He chose first to settle at Kapit where he started a school. After nearly a year at Kapit he realized that the site was altogether too remote and he moved down river to Kanowit, which came to be regarded thereafter as the headquarters of the Catholic mission in the Rejang.[11] The school boys did not approve of this move and one of them named Marcus wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he advised the Holy Father that Sarawak was a very large country and a wise man like the Pope should realize that more priests must be sent there if he hoped to achieve any results at all.[12] So far as can be gathered from the evidence available, the move to Kanowit was made in late 1882 or early 1883.

The welcome Frs. T. Jackson and D. Kilty received in Labuan was no less warm than that given to the missionaries in Sarawak, but there was some difficulty concerning their right to take possession of the mission property. For Mgr. Cuarteron's estate was in some confusion and the government regarded all the mission property as part of this estate. The church itself was in a bad state of repair and was discovered to

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6. MHFA-13-A-9, Jackson to Benoit, 27 Aug. 1881.
7. SBA-10-130, Goossens' typescript, p. 7.
8. MHFA-13-A-28 ab, Dunn to Benoit, 30 Sept., 1881.
9. Ibid.
10. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.8.
11. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.12.
12. This letter hangs framed on the wall in Kapit mission.

have been built on land to which Mgr. Cuarteron had no title. The Fathers were permitted temporary occupation only and it took some years before Mgr. Cuarteron's affairs were sufficiently unravelled to establish the mission's right to the property.[13]

The Borneo explorer, F. Witti,[14] advised Fr. Jackson that in North Borneo the best mission results could be expected among the Kadazan and he suggested that stations should be established at Papar and somewhere in the Tampassuk area.[15] Fr. Kilty was sent therefore to establish himself at Papar and Fr. Jackson himself went to explore the area round Tampassuk, near present day Kota Belud.[16] During his travels he met Dintas, the legendary Dusun Maharanee, who held sway throughout the interior and lived at that time somewhere between present day Teginambur and Bundu Tuhan.[17] He visited Sandakan too, known at that time as Elopura, and he was present there at the inaugural dinner of the North Chartered Company of North Borneo in 1882.[18] Official acceptance of the Catholic mission in North Borneo did not come about until July 1882.[19]

These early moves could only be regarded as exploratory and there was little attempt to put down firm roots in any one place. Fr. Jackson saw his role as supervisory and spent most of his time in travelling, visiting the missionaries, encouraging them and endeavouring to share the meager financial resources available to the mission. Fr. Kilty found the uncertainties of this life style extremely difficult to bear. Very shy, reserved and somewhat suspicious,he obtained a transfer to the Indian mission in 1884 and died there on 30 December 1889.[20] In 1882

13. MHFA-13-A-9, Jackson to Benoit, 27 Aug.1881; MHFA-13-*-Unnumbered, Witti to Kilty, 3 Dec. 1881; MHFA-HCV No.178, 22 Nov. 1882.
14. Francis Witti, born in Hungary, was a rather Maveric employee of the Chartered Company who explored widely in North Borneo and was slain by Muruts in 1892. K.G. Tregonning, A History of Modern Sabah 1881-1963 (Singapore, 1965), pp.52,129,188,204.
15. MHFA-1881-Loose File, Witti to Jackson, 23 Nov. 1881.
16. MHFA-13-A-9, Jackson to Benoit, 27 Aug. 1881.
17. The memory of Dintas, not mentioned in any of the official histories of North Borneo, was still alive when the author first heard of her in 1963 at Kota Belud. Fr. Jackson's account of his visit is in St. Joseph's Advocate, v.1 no.4 (1883), pp.57-58.
18. SBA-3-75. The note in the SBA states that, although the Charter was granted on 1 Nov.1881, the inaugural dinner did not take place in Sandakan until May 1882.
19. MHFA-13-B-22. Chairman to the Governor of Sabah, 1 June 1882. The
20. letter did not reach Borneo until July.
20. Throughout the MHFA 1881-4 correspondence there are about twenty letters which concern Fr. Kilty. It is obvious that neither Fr. Dunn nor Fr. Goossens liked him at all and, although Fr. Jackson strove to be kind, there is an undercurrent of exasperation in his letters which suggests that he may have been glad to be rid of Fr. Kilty.

two other priests were sent out from Mill Hill, Fr. A. Keyzer and Fr. B. Pundleider. They were followed in 1883 by Fr. A. Prenger and Fr. A. Haidegger, and in 1884 by Fr. J. Byron, subdeacon F. Dibona and Bro. Theodore Wagner. With the arrival of Fr. A. Reyffert and Fr. F. Westerwoudt in 1885 some sort of plan began to take shape. By that time there was a total of seven stations at Kuching, the Singhi, Kanowit, Labuan, Putatan, Bundu Kuala Penyu and Sandakan.[21] Between 1885 and 1895 six more priests and one laybrother were sent to Borneo and in 1895 there were just over one thousand Catholics in the whole mission territory. There were eight schools with a total of 175 pupils.[22]

These meager results can be explained to a certain extent by the sheer difficulty of the terrain and the distribution of the population of Borneo. On the East Coast of North Borneo in the hinterland of Sandakan, population was very sparse indeed. The slave raids of the fierce Ilanun and the pirates of Sulu had carried off many of the local people and the remainder had been forced to retreat for safety into the interior.[23] The main concentrations of population in North Borneo were on the West Coast, but these were small and, even as late as 1885, people on the West Coast were still a prey to the slave raiders from Brunei.[24] The vigorous policies of the Brookes in Sarawak had brought slave raiding under some control, but population remained very small and people dwelt in longhouses that were scattered widely over many rivers. The Ibans practised a system of shifting cultivation which caused longhouses to change location every few years and contributed to the Iban population instability which worried Rajah Brooke so much that he attempted, unsuccessfully, to legislate against it.[26] In fact his motives for welcoming the Catholic mission were not coloured by any great love for the Catholic religion so much as by the hope that a successful Catholic mission would bring about the population stability which he saw as a necessary pre-condition to any lasting development in Sarawak.[27]

21. SWA-1-3.
22. SWA-1-4.
23. Tregonning, Sabah, reference the findings of Pryer, Prettyman, Von Donop, Burnridge and Witti, p. 129. O. Rutter, British North Borneo (London, 1922) p. 51.
24. Tregonning, Sabah, pp. 186-96, gives a full description of the anti-slavery activities of the Chartered Company.
25. Baring Gould & Bampfylde, Sarawak, pp. 93 -152.
26. R. Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels (London, 1970), pp. 247-82, gives a a full report of the attempts made by the three Rajahs James, Charles and Vyner Brooke, to control Iban migrations. B. Sandin, The Sea Dayaks of Borneo (London, 1967) puts the whole topic in cultural context. See also D. Freeman, Report on the Iban (London, 1970), pp. 130-4, & 76.
27. MHFA-13-A-13, Jackson to Benoit, 20 Sept. 1881. MHFA-1896-Loose File, C. Brooke to Jackson, 19 July 1896.

Cholera, dysentery and malaria were rampant throughout Borneo and took a terrible toll of lives from all sections of the community. Much of the missionaries' time was taken up with the care of the sick and the dying and the deathbead conversions that often resulted were very consoling to them, but they did little to contribute to the rise of a stable and growing Catholic community. The sparse numbers and the scattered distribution of the population meant that the influence of the missionaries could be felt only slowly, and statistical results were small when compared with the numbers of conversions being made in other mission fields of the same period.

Important considerations that affacted the making of converts were custom and behaviour, particularly in reference to marriage. Simultaneous polygamous unions are permitted in the custom of many Borneo peoples, but they are not of common occurrence. Successive polygamy, where a man or woman has several partners at different times, was, however, very normal practice.[28] The would be convert was required to regularize his marriage in accordance with Church law and this could not be done simply by solemnizing the current marriage in the presence of a priest. The Church recognized only the first valid marriage in native custom and required that the convert return to that spouse before baptism could occur. The modern missionary handles such problems by applying the principles involved in Favour of Faith, the Petrine Privilege, the Pauline Privilege and the Pianine Constitution of 1571,[29] but in the 1880s decisions on such matters had to be referred to the diocesan or metropolitan chancery and the ordinary priest was not expected to know how to handle the legal problems involved. Fr. Jackson was expected to deal with them, but because of the shortened course that had been tailored to prepare him for ordination he felt completely incompetent to deal with such matters. As was to be expected in a completely new mission territory, the bulk of the Catholic marriages involved also a pagan party and could be contracted only with the dispensation of the

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28. This judgement is based on personal observation over a period of ten years, bolstered by the evidence of the Sarawak marriage controversy discussed in chapter six and by the special provisions that had to be written into the Malaysian Marriage Ordinance 1976 before it could be applied to East Malaysia in April 1981.

29. The Church does not claim any authority over pagan marriages as such, but by virtue of an interpretation of 1 Cor. 7: 12-25 she claims the right to declare that a marriage between two pagans is dissolved in favour of faith. The different ways in which this claim is exercised are defined by what are known as the Pauline Privilege, the Petrine Privilege and the Pianine Constitution. A fuller treatment can be found in J. de Reeper, A Missionary Companion (London, 1952).

Prefect Apostolic. His faculties permitted him to grant only a fixed number of such dispensations (never more than ten)in one single year.[30] The difficulties involved in reaching Fr. Jackson, who was constantly on the move throughout Borneo, made for long delays in receiving dispensations and, more often than not, the parties went ahead and married without the blessing of the Church. A third difficulty arose concerning the attitude of the Church to indigenous customs. Decisions had to be made as to which of these could be tolerated as purely social obligations and which had to be outlawed as pure paganism.

Some missionaries thought that all pagan marriages were automatically invalid because of defect of consent, and simply sanctioned such marriages as were in existence at the time of conversion.[31] Not all missionaries thought that they could act in this cavalier fashion and they sought some source and guidance on the intricacies of the canon law that dealt with the problems. The only source on Eastern Church law was the Monita Nankinesia,[32] a collection of all the Church laws that had a bearing on Far Eastern questions, but this was woefully inadequate to the solution of specifically Borneo problems. On matters of Borneo customary law the Monita Nankinensia had little to say in that it had been written with Chinese problems in view and concentrated on the difficulties presented in the interpretation of the Chinese Rites. Fr. Jackson referred the problems of customary law to Mill Hill in London, but the tutors at Mill Hill did not feel able to make a definitive ruling and referred the whole matter to the Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus.[33] It was shunted about from scholar to scholar, but the missionaries received no clear guidance on how they might proceed. The more Fr. Jackson consulted, the further away solutions seemed to be, and the confusion in his mind was such that he felt completely inadequate as Prefect Apostolic and sought to resign his office.

Another problem that Fr. Jackson had to face during these years was that of finding finance to run the mission, an obligation that he

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30. MHFA-13-CB10 to CB16, Faculties granted to Fr. T. Jackson on the occasion of his appointment as Prefect Apsotolic of Labuan and North Borneo. Also SWA-3-Steal v.1 p.66.
31. SWA-3-Steal v.1 p. 65. Fr. J. Steal attributes this view specifically to Fr. A. Haidegger.
32. The only copy of this work that has been traced is the 1933 edition, but the First Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, SWA-10-2 of Nov. 1897, recommends it to all missionaries.
33. SWA-3-Steal v.1 p. 32. In 1885 a summary of Fr. E. Dunn's study of native customs was published in St. Joseph's Advocate v.1 no.10 (1885), pp. 217-21.

he considered personal. In the early years he received grants from the Holy Childhood and from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith amounting to and average total of about 25,000 francs (£2,500) per year. St. Joseph's Society did not accept direct responsibility for the full maintenance of the missionaries in the field, but paid small annual grants towards the costs of running the mission. Canon P. Bamber of the diocese of Westminster continued throughout his life to support individual missionaries.[34] Funds were collected in England through the Tablet and through the Council of St. Joseph's Society that owed much of its vigour to Lady Herbert of Lea,[35] championess of Florence Nightingale and nicknamed 'Lady Lightning' by the Victorian Catholic gentry of England. All these sources of income were never quite sufficient to cover costs in Borneo. Fr. Jackosn has been accused of financial mismanagement, but he can be convicted of this only in so far as he let his heart rule his head. Always chronically short of money, he was nevertheless ready at all times to make promises in the hope that he might have enough money in future to be able to keep them. He had a very bad habit of post-dating his cheques, sometimes by as much as three months, but there is no record that any of these cheques were not honoured.[36] Sometimes the enthusiasm of his assistants got him into trouble, as happened when he promised a substantial building grant to Kanowit. Fr. Dunn immediately initiated an ambitious building programme, much to Fr. Jackson's dismay, as he had hoped to pay out the promised grant piecemeal, and not at one time.[37]

His approach to financing the mission was at two levels. First, he encouraged each station to set up farms large enough to provide an income for its basic needs. Thus many missions planted coffee gardens and laid out rubber plantations that by the turn of the century had begun to contribute to the maintenance of at least some stations.[38] In addition

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34. Anon., "The Death of Canon Bamber, Friend of the Society", St. Joseph's Advicate, v.3 no.24 (1900), p.469.
35. Lady Herbert of Lea, nee Mary Elizabeth Court Repington of the Pembroke family, married Sir Sydney Herbert in 1846 and was widowed in 1860. She became a Catholic in 1865 and was noted throughout her life for her championship of charitable causes. No biography of her has yet been written, but she mentioned in the biographies of her friends, Cardinals Manning and Vaughan and Baron von Hugel. See e.g. A.G.McCormack, Cardinal Vaughan (London, 1966), pp. 91 ff.
36. MHFA-15-P-46 to 47, Fr. Jackson's cheque stubs.
38. The first full report on plantations is that presented by Mgr. Dunn to the Sixth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission in 1921. The financial accounts of the individual mission stations have not survived, but we can assume that some local income was being received by examining the grants allocated to individual missions by the First Provincial Chapter of 1897.
37. SWA-3-Steal v.1 pp. 72,86.

he wrote letters to Propaganda, but the gifts he received were in the form of Mass stipends. Gifts received in this form were welcome enough, but when a priest accepts a Mass stipend he must guarantee that he will offer the Mass within a fairly short time. For the priest in the ordinary parish this is seldom a serious burden, but the missionary priest in Borneo of the 1880s could never be sure that he would have an opportunity to say Mass everyday. The consequence was that much of the correspondence of the early missionaries was taken up with the problems of meeting the obligations imposed by the Propaganda Masses within the stipulated time.[39]

In 1884 Fr. Jackson had to return to England for the general Chapter of the Mill Hill Missionaries and he decided to use this opportunity to make a direct financial appeal to the Catholics of England and Ireland.[40] With the blessing of Cardinal Manning, he set about his task, preaching appeals in churches and begging from door to door. In the Catholic world, missionaries have an almost notorious reputation for begging, but, although his appeal falls generally on generous ears, the missionary does not relish the task and seldom finds it less than embarassing. Fr. Jackson suffered his share of troubles and pleasures like anybody else. A protestant lady in London was so moved by his appeal that she tore off her earrings and tossed them into the collection box[41] When he was boarding a London-bound train after spending a few days at Rajah Charles Brooke's country estate, the servant who accompanied him to the station handed him an envelope with the words: "His Highness would like you to have this for your appeal." The envelope contained £20.[42] Servant girls went without sugar for a month in order to be able to make a small gift to the mission.[43] Yet it is impossible to tell exactly how much money was donated in response to the appeals. It must have been something more than £2,000, for Fr. Jackson confidently hoped that it would take care of the mission's money worries for the next two years. These hopes were not realized. In 1885 he obtained the services of Sisters

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38 SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.74, Dec. 1886. This is the first record of Fr. Jackson's anxiety about Masses. After that date the subject comes up regularly every six months or so. Typical of such worried correspondence is SWA-3-Staal v.2 p.126, a letter to Fr. Dunn which informs him that Propaganda had sent 3,200 Mass intentions on condition that they be exonerated " infra annum a die expditionis schedae." The scheda was dated 12 Feb. 1894 and was received in Borneo in February 1895.

40. MHFA-13-F-17, Jackson letter of appeal, July 1884.
41. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p. 39.
42. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 39-40.
43. This story is not mentioned in Fr. Jackson's correspondence. When Fr. Dunn celebrated the opening of Kanowit's new church by giving a great feast, Fr. Jackson cited this story in the rebuke he gave him for his extravagance.

for the mission and the cost of bringing them out and setting them up in Borneo was to wipe out most of what he had gained in the begging tour.

By 1888 it had become obvious that another begging tour would be necessary. Cardinal Barnabo, the Prefect of Propaganda, approved the plan and in January 1889 Fr. Jackson left again for Europe , to be away this time for nearly four years, first in England and Ireland, and later in the United States of America. The reason why he stayed away so long was partly practical and partly personal. The practical reason was that he had vowed that he would not leave America until he had collected U.S.$10,000.[44] In England and Ireland he was still remembered as a chaplain hero of the Afghan campaign,[45] but this reputation did not cut much ice in America, and it took time for him to establish his reputation as a missionary worth supporting. He had to make a good deal of propaganda for himself and for Borneo before support would be forthcoming. As the money came in, he sent it directly to Fr. Haidegger, his pro-Prefect in Borneo, whose wise use of the funds helped bring the mission onto an even keel and made possible the building of more permanent churches and schools in the stations that had already been established.[46] The personal reason for staying away so long was that Fr. Jackson felt that he could help the mission better by collecting funds in Europe and America than by remaining in Borneo.[47] He was acutely aware of his inadequacies as a superior and an administrator of mission finances.

While in the Unites States Fr. Jackson travelled quite extensively, but he used the Mill Hill parishes in Baltimore as places of rest and recuperation. It is curious that his letters give no inkling that he that he was aware of the tension that had begun to develop between th American and European sections of St. Joseph's Society. This tension led in 1893 to a breakaway of the American group to form the Josephites. The history of this breakaway has not yet been written and is outside the scope of this study, but it had a demoralizing effect on the society as a whole and a group of disaffected Dutch members under the leadership of Fr. J. Waterreus sought to secede and set up a new society, consisting

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44. SWA-3-Staal v.? p.33.
45. The best example of this sort of remembrance is from the Liverpool Echo in the MHFA press cuttings file on Fr. Jackson, but the cutting is undated. Another cutting quotes from a military dispatch by Gen. Primrose of 26 Aug. 1880 : "I cannot overvalue the services rendered on the 16th. and on many occasions by Father T. Jackson, who was always in the foremost of the fight, attending...the wounded, both European and native."
46. The Church and school at Kuching and buildings at Kanowit.
47. MHFA-1891-Loose File, Jackson to Dunn, undated.

of only the Dutch members.[48] The Dutch Mill Hill Missionaries did not give this group any general support, but the breakaway move was regarded as so seriously disruptive that the founder of the society decided to cancel the General Chapter that was due for 1894 and for many years the Dutch members were under a cloud.[49]

Fr. Jackson returned to Borneo in 1893 and discovered that the mission had managed quite well under Fr. Haidegger's care, but he had to face the problems of illness. He found that many Fathers and Sisters had become debilitated by fever and suffered from the sort of depression that often accompanies it. In the 1890s there was little understanding of illnesses that brought on melancholy and depression, and Fr. Jackson could not convince Mill Hill that his priests were really sick and not just malingering.[50] Fr. B. Kurz and Fr. J. Byron suffered most from these ills and were to die as young men on 1 September 1895 and 30 October 1896 respectively. Fr. Jackson's pleas that Fr. Kurz be permitted to return to Europe for the sake of his health were curtly denied, and only when Fr. Kurz died, did Mill Hill relent and permit Fr. Byron to return to Mill Hill.[51] He died there almost within a year of his return. Fr. Jackson himself began to suffer similar depressions and realized that he must force the authorities in Europe to accept his resignation.

In 1886, when he made his first attempt to resign, he had written first to Bishop Vaughan who replied that, since his original appointment had come from Propaganda, only the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda could accept his resignation.[52] Fr. Jackson then approached Propaganda and it seemed that his plea would be heard. Then, suddenly, a telegram arrived from Bishop Vaughan, telling him that he was to ignore any communication that gave him permission to resign.[53] Reading between the lines of the correspondence, it is evident that the Ranee Margaret of Sarawak had

48. SWA-3-Staal v.2 pp. 113-4.
49. The 1893 breakaway by the Josephites was probably a more important consideration. The third General Chapter of the Mill Hill Missionaries did not take place until 1904, one year after the death of the founder. SWA-3-Staal v.2 pp. 140-1.
50. Fr. Jackson was quite confused himself; but he could not understand why Mill Hill ignored the medical certificates he forwarded to show that the missionaries concerned needed to return to Europe for the sake of their health.
51. In the narrow interpretation of missionary vows of those days, the promise to give one's whole life to the missions meant simply that one went out and did not come home again for any reason.
52. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 78-79, 82-83, 97-99, 100-1, 107-8.
53. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p. 108. The reason Cardinal Simeoni gave for changing the decision regarding resignation is stated:"...abdicationem acceptare non possum nisi prius inveniam personam aliam idoneam tibi substituendam." SWA-3-Staal v.1 p. 124.

received notice of the proposed resignation and had gone to Salford to persuade Bishop Vaughan to use his influence to stop it. By 1894, however, circumstances had changed considerably. Fr. Jackson suffered from fits of depression which rendered him incapable of working for periods of almost two weeks at a time, and these bouts of illness were beginning to demoralize the priests of the mission. Both Fr. A. Haidegger and Fr. J. Verbrugge wrote to complain officially about the behaviour of the Prefect and to request that he should be released from his office.[54] In the light of these changed circumstances, Cardinal Vaughan, by that time Archbishop of Westminster, wrote to accept Fr. Jackson's resignation.[55] It was a very harsh letter, obviously from the hand of a person who had not yet known the meaning of failure. Cardinal Vaughan suggested that Fr. Jackson should either enter a monastery or go to work as a missionary in South Africa. In the gentleness of Fr. Jackson's reply we recognize the magnanimity of a man who has come to terms not only with the weaknesses that he saw in himself, but also the smallness that he saw about him.[56]

Within a few months of receiving Cardinal Vaughan's letter Fr. Jackson handed over the running of the mission to the care of Fr. Haidegger until such time as a new Prefect should be appointed. The Fathers of the mission were then canvassed for their opinions on a suitable candidate for the post. Fr. Haidegger received the largest number of votes, followed Fr. F. Westerwoudt, and Fr. Dunn was the only other one mentioned.[57] Since the vote was consultative, not deliberative, no new ballot was necessary. The final decision was to depend on the confidential report that was submitted by Fr. J. Aelen, who made an official visitation of the mission in 1896. He reported to Cardinal Vaughan that neither Fr. Haidegger nor Fr. Westerwoudt was "a man of order... a man of cleanliness".[58] He stated further that the former had gained his support because a group of priests had got together to vote for him, not because they regarded him as suitable, but in order to make sure that Fr. Westerwoudt did not carry the election. The grievance that this group had against Fr. Westerwoudt was that he was too mean. Fr. Dunn had received the least number of votes, but in Fr. Aelen's opinion he was a man of orderly character, clean habits and had the advantage of being British.

54. MHFA-1895-Loose File, Haidegger to Chevillon, 17 May 1895.
55. MHFA-13-CB18- 46 to 47, Vaughan to Jackson, 17 May 1895.
56. MHFA-1895-Loose File. Jackson to Vaughan, 29 Nov. 1895. The writer has not been permitted to reproduce any section of these letters.
57. MHFA-1896-Loose File. Fr. Aelen's Visitation Report, p. 1.
58. Ibid.

To appoint Fr. Haidegger would be out of the question. To appoint a Dutch superior in a British protected territory that did not enjoy harmonious relations with its neighbouring Dutch colony would not be politic and would invite unfavourable comment. Fr. Dunn was, therefore, appointed Prefect and was for many years believed to have received only one vote. To state, however, that Fr. Westerwoudt was passed over because of Cardinal Vaughan's distrust of the Dutch on account of the Waterreus affair[59] would be going beyond the evidence available.[60]

Fr. Jackson, meanwhile, had arrived back in England and went first to Blackburn and later to Liverpool. He died at Manchester on 1 April 1916, having spent the previous twenty years preaching and lecturing about Borneo and helping to set up the system of collecting money which was to be the basis of future financing of Mill Hill Missions in Borneo and elsewhere. He continued to correspond with the Fathers on the Borneo mission and preserved carefully all the letters he received. These letters, in which the Fathers are very frank and open about their problems, difficulties and hopes, are valuable sources of information concerning the background of Mgr. Dunn's actions and intentions during the first twenty years period of his prefectship in Borneo.

(ii)

Fr. Edmund Dunn was appointed Prefect Apostolic on 4 May 1897.[61] The delay between the acceptance of Fr. Jackson's resignation and the appointment of Fr. Dunn has never been explained satisfactorily, but we may suppose that Propaganda required some convincing to make it agree to the appointment of a candidate who had received fewer votes than the other two mentioned on the terna. Fr. Dunn came from a much more conventional background than did Fr. Jackson. He was born in Dublin on 22 November 1857 and lived there until he was four years old, when his parents moved to Stockport, Lancashire. There he entered the parish school and was educated by the Benedictines until he was seventeen years old. He entered St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, in 1874 and after his ordination in December 1880 he was assigned to the staff of the junior seminary at Kelvidon, where he taught music. This appointment did not MEAN that the Society intended him for a teaching career and can be explained by the simple fact that he was only twenty-three years old,

59. See note no. 48. This view is an oral tradition in some sections of St. Joseph's Society.
60. Fr. Aelen's Visitation Report, pp. 2-3.
61. SWA-4-Steal v.3 p.21.

one year younger than is normally permissible for ordination. His stay there was short and in 1881 he was appointed among the first group of priests to go to Borneo. There he worked exclusively in the Rejang district until he was appointed Prefect.[62]

Fr. Aelen's report on the visitation of the Borneo mission in 1896 stated that the mission had been entirely mismanaged previously, but in justification for the apparently poor results, he cited the thin distribution of population and the large distances that had to be travelled to make contact with people in Borneo.[63] At first, Mgr. Dunn kept his own council on these matters and, after making a long spiritual retreat, he toured all the mission stations to acquaint himself afresh with the problems that had to be faced. He discovered that almost every station was following its own particular policies and that the general impact of the mission was altogether too narrow. His whole style of leadership, therefore, was guided by the need to develop common policies and to widen the influence of the mission.[64]

In order to promote a greater general understanding of what should be the priorities of the mission, he called a Provincial Chapter in November 1897 to thrash out many of the grievances that had caused previous friction among the missionaries. This Chapter made regulations regarding the life-style of the priests, the level of central mission subsidies to individual mission stations, and norms to be followed when working with the Sisters or dealing with Government officers. It also provided that the Prefect should govern in conjunction with two consultors chosen by the priests.[65] Mgr. Dunn had the sense to realize his own inability in the handling of finance and handed over all financial administration of the mission to Fr. Haidegger, then the Rector of the Kuching mission.[66]

Despite the advice of the Chapter he at first refused to leave Kanowit and maintained that it was as good a headquarters as Kuching. He remained steadfast in this opinion until the second Provincial Chapter of 1901 prevailed upon him to move.[67] By that time he had experienced the special difficulties of travelling out from Kanowit and he recognized that priests who wished to correspond with him had

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62. SBA-10-91 to 111, A. Goossens, "Monsignor E. Dunn", a 21 page manuscript memoire, composed circa 1933.
63. MHFA-1896-Loose File, Fr. Aelen's Visitation Report, p.6.
64. SBA?10-99, A. Goossens, "Mgr. E. Dunn", p.9. cf. no.62 supra.
65. SWA-10- 1 to ?, First Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, Nov. 1897.
66. SBA-10-101, Goossens,"Monsignor E. Dunn", p.9. cf. 62 supra.
67. This is not in the minutes of the Chapter; but Goossens attests it.

often to wait as long as eight months for an answer from there. What really convinced him that he must leave, despite his great affection for the Ibans, was not the rational arguments of his advisers, but a completely fortuitous catastrophe that occurred on 12 March 1900, when a young twenty-five year old priest, Fr. Bernard Wensink, newly arrived from Europe, drowned in the river in front of the mission at Kanowit. Fr. Wensink had indeed broken a cardinal rule of river life by going alone to take his bath, but Mgr. Dunn blamed himself for the young priest's death and was very much shocked by it.[68] In 1902 he moved to Kuching and began to learn Hakka and Tamil so that he could take his full share in the work of the station. In this we note another difference between his style of leadership and that of Fr. Jackson. Mgr. Dunn was never satisfied simply with supervising the work, but insisted on being as fully involved as the duties of Prefect would permit.[69]

His plans for widening the influence of the mission had to await the arrival and acclimatization of new priests from Mill Hill, but almost immediately, plans were made to open up a station among the Melanau. In 1882 Fr. Jackson had requested his opinion on the advisability of starting a mission station at Mukah, but he was not enthusiastic about its prospects.[70] Fr. Jackson was disappointed, but he dropped the idea in the face of Fr. Dunn's lack of enthusiasm. The latter for his part regretted his snap judgement and the weight Fr. Jackson had given it. As soon as he became Prefect he sought,therefore, to establish a Melanau mission as one of his first priorities. Rajah Charles Brooke was not sure that this was a good idea, especially since a large number of Melanaus had recently embraced Islam and he feared local friction if the Catholic mission were to move into the district.[71] As a compromise, the Rajah agreed to the establishment of a mission on the borders of the Melanau country on a small river called the Cut, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Egan.[72] This missinn was opened in 1899 by Fr. A. Stotter. Five years later, the Rajah wrote to Mgr. Dunn to tell him that he had spoken to the Muslim headmen of the Oya district and that there would be no further objection to a mission being set up at Dalat.[73] Fr. Stotter did not move immediately to Dalat and began by starting up an outstation at Mukah. Later he moved the whole Oya mission to Dalat,

68. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p.42.
69. SBA-10-104, A. Goossens, "Monsignor E. Dunn", p.14, see no.62 supra.
70. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 20-21.
71. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 38.
72. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 35.
73. Sarawak Museum Collection, C. Brooke to Fr. E. Dunn, 27 Jan. 1903.

the transfer being completed by 1906.

When the 1897 Provincial Chapter was held there were missions at Kuching, Kanowit, the Singhi, Labuan, Inobong, Papar, Putatatan, Bundu Kuala Penyu and Sandakan, in addition to which the Chapter agreed to provide allowances for missions at Penampang, Sibu, Serambu and Pedawan. Fr. J. Staal's notes on this matter place interrogation marks after Serambu and Pedawan.[74] Perhaps he was as ignorant as we are regarding the location of these places, especially in the absence of any definitive and detailed historical geography of Borneo. The 1901 Provincial Chapter lists the following mission stations: Kuching, Papar, Bundu Kuala Panyu, Kanowit, the Singhi, Bauan (Rejang), Kinuta (Papar), Lower Rejang, Penampang, and Labuan.[75] Examination of the reports of succeeding Provincial Chapters reveals that it is only after some years that any pattern becomes evident and, much as we would like it, it is impossible to say that such and such a mission was opened at such and such a time and remained open thereafter. Nor is it possible to say that the opening of each station was occasioned by general policy. There are traditional stories in the Borneo mission that both the Kinuta and Bauan stations arose because of personality clashes. It is said, for instance, that when Fr. A.Willems was appointed assistant to Fr. A. Goossens they took an immediate dislike to one another and Fr. Willems decided, without reference to anybody else, to move down river and establish himself at Kinuta. It is said too that Fr. A. Klerk established the station at Bauan because he could not stand Fr. A. Keyzer at Kanowit.

The independent attitudes of the missionaries must have tried the patience of the Prefect; it is to the credit of Mgr. Dunn that he managed somehow or other to implement a policy which gradually widened the influence of the mission throughout the country. Table 1 on the following page gives some idea of how the mission developed. The report points on the table ARE the successive Provincial Chapters, from the papers of which the information is culled.[76] No report is cited after the Sixth Provincial Chapter because the Prefecture was divided in 1927 and only the Sarawak section of the mission remained under the care of Mgr. Dunn. For analysis the whole mission territory is divided into four quadrants: Sarawak, Baram-Labuan, Rejang, North Borneo. Stations opened or re-opened since the previous Chapter are marked with an asterisk, those closed since the previous Chapter are bracketed.

74. SWA-10-9, First Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, Nov. 1897.
75. SWA-10-13, Second Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, Aug. 1901.
76. SWA-10-1 to 44, Provincial Chapters 1897-21.

Provincial Chapter	SARAWAK	REJANG	BARAM-Labuan	North Borneo
1.(1897)	Kuching Singhi	Kanowit	Labuan	Bundu K.P. Inobong Papar Putatan Sandakan
2. (1901)	Kuching Singhi	Bauan* Kanowit Lower-Rejang	Labuan	(Bundu K.P.) Inobong Kinuta* Papar Penampang* (Putatan) Sandakan
3. (1906)	Kuching (Singhi)	Bauan Cut-Oya-Mukah* Kanowit (Lower-Rejang)	Baram* Labuan	(Inobong) Jesselton* Kinuta Papar (Penampang) Putatan* Sandakan
4. (1910)	Kuching Singhi*	(Bauan) Cut-Oya Kanowit Mukah* Sibu	Baram Labuan	Inobong* Jesselton Kinuta Papar Penampang (Putatan) Sandakan
5. (1916)	Kuching Land-Dayaks* (Singhi)	Cut-Oya Kanowit Mukah Sibu	Baram Labuan	No.North Born. Report on account of the restrcited movements of the Austrian missionaries.
6. (1921)	Kuching Kuching-outstats.* (Land-Dayaks) Saga-Singhi*	(Cut-Oya) Dalat-Oya* Kanowit Mukah Sibu	(Baram) Labuan Miri-Baram)	(Inobong) Jesselton (Kinuta) Papar (Penampang) Putatan*

T A B L E 1

It will be noted that the Provincial Chapters were held approximately every four years, but that there was a six year gap between the Fourth and the Fifth. The Fifth Chapter that was due to be held in 1914 was postponed to allow Mgr. Dunn to attend the General Chapter of the Mill Hill Missionaries in London. While he was still in London the First World War broke out and he volunteered his services as an army chaplain.[77] Despite his advanced years he was accepted, but he was assigned to chaplaincy duties at a hospital well behind the lines.[78] It is surprising, perhaps, that he volunteered at all, being 57 years old at the time, and with a job to do in Borneo. Many people were carried away by the popular euphoria that accompanied the outbreak of this war and thought that hostilities would be over by Christmas 1914. Mgr. Dunn hardly expected that his duties as chaplain would keep him busy for more than a few months and once he realized that the war would drag on for some years he applied for and obtained his release from the army in 1916 so that he could return to his mission.[79]

The Sarawak quadrant of the table suggests that mission work there remained very stable for most of the period reported, but in 1910 the stirrings of expansion were beginning to be felt, and more attention was being paid to the establishment of outstations among the Land Dayaks.[80] The Rejang quadrant indicates a slow steady spread of influence throughout the whole district. The opening of Sibu mission in 1902 is significant in so far as it indicates the first push in the Rejang district towards work among the Chinese.[81] This opening is paralleled by the opening at the same time of the mission in Jesselton. The governments of Sarawak and North Borneo had embarked on a policy of encouraging Chinese immigration in order to speed up the development of the states.[82] The Sibu and Jesselton foundations were the mission's reaction

77. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 152. SBA-10-107, A. Goossens,"Mgr. E. Dunn", p.17.
78. SWA-10-107. MHFA-1914-Loose File, Kerr McClement to Dunn, 16 Oct. 1914.
79. SWA-10-108. A. Goossens, "Mgr. E. Dunn", p.18.
80. The Singhi mission had a checkered history. Originally it had been chosen because Fr. F. Westerwoudt wished to serve in a very difficult mission.(SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.52). After the Death of Fr. Reyffert, it was opened and closed almost at regular intervals, and by 1910 it could be regarded no longer as a centre of Dayak mission influence. In the late 1930s the Rector of the station was discovered to have been living with his housekeeper and had had four children by her. Mgr. Hopfgartner was so incensed by the scandal, and by what he regarded as the connivance of the Singhi people in concealing it, that he had the whole station burned to the ground and mission operations in the area were transferred to Bau.
81. Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels, pp.304 ff.
82. Ibid. and Tregonning, Sabah, pp. 139 ff.

to the large influx of Chinese labour into Borneo during the earlier part of this century. Quadrant four indicates that the missionaries in North Borneo aimed to gain a broad base of influence among the Kadazans round about Jesselton and Papar.[83] Results in the Bundu Kuala Penyu mission had never been very encouraging and the mission had been kept open largely because of the enthusiasm of Fr. A. Pundleider HE WAS TRANSFERRED TO LABUAN IN 1900 and worked Bundu Kuala Penyu as an outstation. In 1906, however, when Fr. Pundleider was appointed to lead the first group of Mill Hill Missionaries to the Philippines, Labuan was left without resident priest and it was added to the responsibility of Fr. H. Jansens of the Baram mission.[84] Bundu Kuala Penyu then came under the care of Papar mission and, though it was visited fairly regularly, there was very little real progress. The Baram mission opened by Fr. Jansens at Marudi in 1903 was dogged by difficulties from its very beginning and achieved almost no results at all. Fr. Jansens travelled widely in the area and he settled finally in Miri in 1920. By then the missions in Sarawak, the Rejang and the Papar-Jesselton section of North Borneo were well enough established, but the Baram seemed to hold out few hopes for the future. The 63 year old Mgr. Dunn could have claimed the right to rest, but he still planned further expansion and the 1920s saw the breaking of entirely new ground. In the north, Sandakan had begun to expand towards Kudat and Tawau, but the small Catholic population of Kudat did not then justify the opening of a new headstation. There were few Catholics in Tawau until 1920, but but the opening of the Solimpupun coal mines led to a large influx of labour from China and the Philippines and prompted the establishment of the Tawau mission in 1922.[85] At the same time the Sadong coal fields in Sarawak had started operations and the government asked the mission to establish a school to serve the needs of the labour force.[86] This was the beginning of the Sadong mission, which set up its headquarters eventually at Serian in 1928.[87] The discovery of oil in the Miri-Bintulu area in the 1920s confirmed the importance of the Miri mission so that it was regarded no longer as a simple staging post on the way to the Baram district. The exploitation of the oil discoveries in Brunei acted in the same way to to make Brunei more important to Labuan, of which

83. It also indicates some uncertainty concerning places that were suitable as headquarters.
84. MHFA Pigskin logbook 1, CB14-35.
85. Tregonning, Sabah, p. 68. Tregonning calls the mines the Cowie Harbour Coal Mines, but local people in Tawau always refer to them as Solimpupun coal mines.
86. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p. 25.
87. Anon., St. Theresa's Mission Serian 1928-1978. Golden Jubilee (Serian, 1978).

Brunei was an outstation.[88] A development that had nothing to do with industrial considerations was the setting up of the Tambunan mission in 1922, a subject which is related elsewhere in this study.[89]

Mgr. Dunn handed over financial administration to Fr. Haidegger in 1897, but he continued to regard the financing of the mission as a personal obligation. Fr. Aelen's report in 1896 had pointed out that the finances of the mission were in a parlous state and that it would be unable to cope with its problems without some special subsidy over and above the income it received from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith and the Holy Childhood.[90] Fr. Jackson had encouraged the stations to plant coffee gardens as a source of income and by the time Mgr. Dunn was appointed some stations near Kuching were reporting profits, but the drop in the world coffee prices of the late 1890s made it very difficult to make any profit from this labour intensive crop. Coffee blight also ruined many gardens.

For some years Mill Hill increased its grants to Borneo, but the amounts sent varied from year to year and Mgr. Dunn complained that they were so uncertain as to make forward planning very difficult and even impossible. So it was agreed in 1905 that Mill Hill would provide a basic benefice for the Borneo mission. Each year for five years £2,000 was to be lent to the mission at 2½% per annum[91]. The funds received from Mill Hill in this way were to be re-invested in Sarawak, where interest rates were always much higher. The Sarawak accounts continue to list the loan as a liability until 1928, after which it is excluded from accounts so that we can assume that the debt was written off.[92] The £10,000 thus provided formed the basis of Fr. Haidegger's financial strategy for the mission. Property was acquired in Kuching, shares were bought in a number of Far Eastern Business enterprises, and mortgages were provided for small farmers to help them over hard times.[93] What came in from these sources formed the basic income of the general mission. In addition, annual grants continued to be received from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. School costs were met partly from fees, partly from the Holy Childhood grant, and partly from educational grants which were provided by the governments

88. Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels, p. 104, p. 331. Brunei continued to be regarded as an outstation of Labuan until the mission at Kuala Belait was opened in 1926.
89. See Chapter Six.
90. Full reports are to be found in SWA-2 and S A-6.
91. MHFA-CB18-55a to 55c, 20 Oct., 1905 and 5 July 1906.
92. MHFA-1905 to 1928-Loose files.
93. The mission accounts state only totals from these general sources, but they do not specify details.

of Sarawak and North Borneo.

Mgr. Dunn encouraged each mission to plant rubber gardens as a means of support, and in 1921 he was able to report that Kuching owned 30 acres of rubber, Saga 20 acres, Kanowit 40 acres, Sibu 27 acres and the Baram mission 30 acres.[94] It may be noted that all these rubber holdings were in Sarawak and that the North Borneo mission stations had no income bearing land at all, a factor that was to assume great importance in the future negotiations for the division of the Prefecture in 1927.

Resolution no. 3 of the Sixth Provincial Chapter, 16 - 20 June 1921, suggested that Rome be requested to raise the Prefecture to the status of a Vicariate with a bishop in charge.[96] Fr. F. Henry, the Superior General of the Mill Hill Missionaries, declined to approve the report of this Chapter on the grounds that he had not been consulted on its main recommendations and because the Chapter had not thought fit to thank the motherhouse for special gifts amounting to 1,000 guineas.[97] In 1924 Fr. Henry was succeeded as Superior General by Bishop J. Biermans and on 17 January 1925 the new Superior General wrote to say that he accepted the suggested revisions in the resolutions of the Fifth and Sixth Provincial Chapters.[98] It is not clear, however, what these revisions were, as no copy survives.

Proposition no. 13 of the Sixth Provincial Chapter recommended that Mgr. Dunn should reside at Labuan in order to prevent a split in the North Borneo and Sarawak sections of the mission, but this proposition was allowed to drop because " the Fathers of the Chapter had already clearly expressed their opinion on the subject in the presence of the Prefect Apostolic."[99] It is difficult to know how to interpret this minute. Did Mgr. Dunn object to living in Labuan, or, did he quash the discussion of the proposition because he already had in mind a division of the Prefecture? Such a division had been proposed by Fr. Jackson,[100] but it had never been raised at any previous Provincial Chapter. Yet, the matter had been very much in people's minds. At

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94. SWA-10-52, Fr. Dunn's report to the Sixth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, June 1921.
96. SWA-10-41, Sixth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, June 1921.
97. SWA-10-43, Fr. F. Henry's endorsement of the report of the Sixth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, dated 31 Oct. 1921.
98. SWA-10-44, Biermans to Dunn, 17 Jan. 1925.
99. SWA-10-58, Minutes of the Sixth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, 20 June 1921.
100. SBA-3-175 and SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.9.

*** There is no note no. 95.***

the end of Fr. J. Staal's historical notes for 1925 he states:[101]

> During this year 1925 all Borneo Frs were asked by the Superior General (Mgr. J. Biermans) to vote whether they wanted a Vicariate or a division of the Mission."Give your reason, please." At Last! When Fr. Henry was here on visitation the B.N.B. Fathers asked him, and then he answered: "I have no one for Superior." In '19 or early '20 B.N.B. sent a petition for division to Mill Hill. In 1916 Fr. Dunn wrote personally to Fr. Henry. All no use. Mgr. Biermans elected at once begins to ask the Frs. opinion with good results.

None of the correspondence mentioned by Fr. Staal has been preserved, but it seems evident that previous to 1924 every request for a change in the status of the Borneo mission was deliberately blocked by Superior General Fr. F. Henry. It is very difficult to see why he should block what was after all the natural progress of the missinn. In the light of Fr. Staal's note above it is difficult also to justify Fr. Henry's claim in respect of resolution no. 3 of the Sixth Provincial Chapter that he had not been consulted. His very unusual endorsement of the 1921 Chapter can only have been regarded as offensive to the Borneo missionaries,[102] and it may be noteworthy too that between 1919 and 1924 not one single priest or Brother from Mill was appointed to Borneo. It can be assumed, therefore, that Mill Hill-Borneo relations during this period were at a low ebb and Mgr. Bierman's action in approving the 1921 revised resolutions and his moves towards a change in the status of the Borneo mission can be regarded as olive branches. In the years of Mgr. Biermans' Superior Generalship the staff of the Borneo mission was boosted by 28 new members.

In 1926 Propaganda wrote to Mgr. Dunn requesting a detailed and clear map of his Prefecture.[103] Fr. Staal was entrusted with the task of drawing up a suitable map and the one he produced shaded North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei and Labuan in four different colours to indicate the four different political administrations. Mgr. Dunn had intended to suggest the Baram as the border between the two new Prefectures and did not like the map at all.[104] Nevertheless, he sent it on to Rome as it stood and on 7 February 1927 Rome made the division of the Prefecture on political grounds. North Borneo, Labuan and Brunei were cut off from the old Prefecture and constituted the Prefecture of

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101. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p. 47.
102. The words used were : "My signature on this document indicates only that I have read it..."
103. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p. 53.
104. SWA-4-Staal v.4 pp. 53-54.

of North Borneo.[105] The remainder was designated the Prefecture of Kuching. The allocation of Brunei to the Prefecture of North Borneo seems very odd indeed since Brunei was surrounded on all landward sides by Sarawak, and was even divided in the middle by it. Bishop J. Buis has suggested that Mgr. A. Wachter wished Brunei to be included in the North Borneo Prefecture because he wished to set up schools there that would produce enough extra income to underpin the finances of the poorer North Borneo stations.[106] This view seems reasonable at first, but ignores the fact that Mgr. Wachter could have had nothing to do with the drawing up of the boundaries of the new Prefecture. He was not appointed until 2 July 1927, four months after the decision on the boundaries had been made.[107]

Mgr. Dunn's workload was considerably lightened by the division of the Prefecture, but he remained very active. In the latter half of 1927 he decided to split the Sibu mission into two. Fr. V. Halder remained in charge of the Sibu mission and Fr. L. v.d. Bergh was assigned to establish a new station at Binatang.[108] On 1 January 1929 he opened a catechists' school at Kanowit and appointed Fr. J. Buis to act as instructor according to a syllabus drawn up by Frs. H. Jansens and A. Klerk.[109] In May 1929 work was extended in the Miri section of the Prefecture by the establishment of the mission at Bintulu.[110] At the same time, plans were made to establish an outstation at Serikei, but this was not accomplished until February 1933.[111] In the previous year Mgr. Dunn made his last trip up the Rejang as far as Kapit. He found that the original site he had used to build his first school was in the hands of a Chinese. He bought the land back and had a house built there. This was finished on 22 January 1933 and he hoped he would soon be able to send a priest to re-open the old mission.[112] He died before this could be accomplished.

In 1929 an event occurred that looked as though it might make a substantial contribution to the alleviation of the chronic financial worries of the Borneo Prefectures. Through the good offices of the English Association for the Propagation of the Faith a 273 acre tea and coffee estate was offered as a gift to the Borneo mission. A

105. Pope Pius XI,"Quae Rei Sacrae", Acta Apsotolicae Sedis v.19 no.7 (1927), pp. 248-9, 5 Feb. 1927.
106. Interview with Bishop Buis, Dec. 1978.
107. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.19 no.8 (1927) p. 282, 2 July 1927.
108. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.55.
109. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p. 65.
110. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.66.
111. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p. 98.
112. SBA-10-110, A. Goossens, "Monsignor E. Dunn", p.19.

condition of the gift was that a school and a sanatorium had to be built on the estate, but the prospect of a mature income producing estate was very tempting. Mgrs. Dunn and Wachter decided to look over the property before actually accepting it and discovered that it was very run down. It had arears of quit rent and the estate bungalow had been gutted by fire. The expense of bringing the property back into production was quite beyond the means of the Borneo missions and the Prefects were not able to accept the gift.[113]

The year 1933 was a very trying one for Mgr. Dunn. He had developed prostate trouble and had neglected to see a doctor about it. The pain had now become so unbearable that he could hardly move and the illness was so far advanced that an operation was not possible.[114] His consultors on the mission advised that, since he had to attend the Mill Hill General Chapter of 1934, he should go to Europe and have some rest beforehand. He left on 11 December 1933, appointing Fr. A. Hopfgartner, his pro-Prefect, to run the mission during his absence. The Mill Hill necrology says that he died at sea on 30 December 1933, but the death certificate signed by Captain C. Brandt of the S.S. Saarbrucken states that he died of heart failure at 1.33 a.m. on 31 December when the ship was in the Indian Ocean, some 600 miles west of Cochin.[115]

(iii)

The appointment on 26 July 1927 of Fr. A. Wachter as Prefect Apostolic of North Borneo implied the official acceptance of a division that had already been a reality for many years.[116] The British North Borneo section of the mission had always been poor and lacked the economic foundation that the Sarawak mission enjoyed. It had no farms or plantations and its only local income came from the surplus that was earned from St. Mary's School Sandakan and Sacred Heart School Jesselton. The North Borneo Chartered Company provided a small contribution towards the costs of running the schools. It was imperative, therefore, that Mgr. Wachter should arrange some sort of financial settlement with the Sarawak mission that would allow the North Borneo mission to begin to come to grips with its financial problems. To this purpose he sent Fr. A. Stotter to negotiate a share of the Sarawak mission resources.

113. SWA-4-Steel v.4 p.69. MHFA-1927-Loose File, Dunn to Biermans, 29 June 1927.
114. SBA-10-110, A. Goossens, "Monsignor E. Dunn", p. 20.
115. MHFA-1933-Loose File, Mgr. Dunn's death certificate.
116. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.19 no. 8 (1929) p. 282, 2 July 1927.

Fr. Haidegger agreed that the ownership of the Labuan estate, then more than one hundred acres, should be transferred unconditionally to North Borneo and that an additional 62,000 Straits dollars in cash, two fifths of the book value of all the Kuching Prefecture's investments, should also be paid.[117] Fr. Stotter declared himself satisfied with these provisions, and returned to North Borneo, pleased that he had managed to get the better of his Tyrolese fellow countryman. The settlement was indeed quite generous in the circumstances, and with competent handling it might have provided some degree of financial stability for the Prefecture of North Borneo. Mgr. Wachter was, however, no financial wizard, but he did not realize his own limitations and it was not long before the finances of the North Borneo mission were in complete confusion. Almost yearly, the office of procurator changed hands, the previous incumbent having been dismissed or having resigned in frustrated disgust.[118] No procurator could hope to cope with Mgr. Wachter's openhandedness. He was a beggar's delight, a soft touch, and it was not long before he had given away most of the mission's resources. By 1931, when Bishop Biermans made the official visitation of the mission, matters were in a very serious state, and the visitation report took the Prefect to task because his policies demanded that the Fathers should live at a level of poverty which was quite intolerable.[119] In 1935 Fr. A. Goossens died and left his not inconsiderable fortune to the Prefecture, but he hedged the bequest with so many conditions that it was almost impossible to touch the money. Fr Goossens' conditions were framed so as to prevent Mgr. Wachter getting his hands on the money, but they were so narrowly restrictive that Bishop Buis was still busy unravelling the Goosens' estate in 1955.[120]

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117. SBA-7-67 to 68. The division of the General Mission Property of the Prefecture Apostolic of North Borneo and Sarawak, Kuching, 3 Sept. 1927.

118. Stability was achieved only in 1938 with the appointment of Fr. A. Antonissen. Fr. Antonissen remained procurator of the Vicariate until his retirement in 1965, but during the Japanese occupation Mgr. Wachter acted as his own procurator.

119. SBA-5-258, Visitation report by Bishop J. Biermans, 30 April 1931.

120. During the Japanese occupation Mgr. Wachter used the accumulated interest on the Goossens' estate to keep the mission afloat, and Fr. Verhoeven was left with the task of repaying the money when he took over in 1945-6. Bishop Buis asked Propaganda for permission to wind up the estate and was allowed to do so. In 1966, however, when the writer had to choose a site for the mission in the Marudu area and decided to locate it at Tandek, Bishop Buis remarked: "Thank God you did not choose Bandau. If you had, I would have owed you $10,000 from the Goossens' estate."

The people of Penampang loved Mgr. Wachter and remembered him so well that in 1979 they raised a monument to him.[121] The Fathers found him a very likeable person, but thought he was impossible as a superior. The Society Superior of the Mill Hill Missionaries, Fr. Anthony Raich, had the unenviable task of trying to temper the Prefect's enthusiasms and protect the Fathers from the hardships that seemed always to follow in their train. He tried hard, but eventually he gave up the struggle and asked to be relieved of his office.[122] His successor, Fr. Francis Sint, managed for some years to improve relations between the Fathers and the Prefect, but in 1929 he became ill and had to return to Austria, where he was caught up in the Second World War and could not return to Borneo until 1946.[123] Mgr. Wachter's difficulties with the Fathers compounded his financial problems. For the Rectors of the three stations that might have subsidized the poorer stations, viz. Fr. Stotter in Sandakan, Fr. Weber in Jesselton and Fr. Goossens in Limbahau, decided that they would not hand over their surplus funds to the Prefect, but would subsidize the poorer missions directly. They did not wish to give the Prefect money to be wasted in Penampang. This situation did not lack its amusing aspects and North Borneo earned its nickname in those days as the "Land of the Four Popes", because of the way Wachter, Weber, Stotter and Gossens all ignored one another and did what they liked.[124]

The Penampang folly that angered the Fathers so much came from a foible from which Mgr. Wachter suffered. He would dearly have loved to become a Vicar Apostolic and hoped that one day he would become a bishop. Following on this ambition, he sought to build himself a cathedral at Penampang which must compare favourably with the great churches of his native Austria. He commissioned his cousin there to design him a great stone church and in the early 1930s he began to build it on top of the mission hill at Penampang.[125] This church, now completed, and capable of accomodating more than a thousand worshippers, is today a symbol of pride in Penampang, but the costs of building it were more than the Prefecture could bear. The stone was quarried locally at a place now known as Dongongon, but masons had to be imported from China and Hong Kong to dress the great blocks of stone and build the church. Only by constant begging letters to friends and wellwishers in the Tyrol, and among the German speaking community around Milwaukee,

121. The monument is a bell tower added to the front of St. Michael's, Penampang.
122. Interview with Fr. F. Sint, December 1978.
123. Ibid.
124. Interview with Fr. J. v. Haaren, December 1978.
125. SBA-5-153 to 165, Historical Notes on Penampang.

was Mgr. Wachter able to keep the work going. The church so dazzled him that every other project took second place and he expected every mission to economize and make do in order to promote it. Brother Aegidius Leiter, a master builder, was clerk of works and a great admirer of Mgr. Wachter, but even he saw that the Penamapang church could become a symbol dissension and trouble. It is said that, when the walls were but two thirds completed, Brother Aegidius resorted to subterfuge in order to bring down the costs. He taught his labourers to make cement blocks that looked like stone, but were cheaper, and used these to complete the walls.[126] By the beginning of the Japanese occupation only the walls were complete, and even if there had been enough money to pay for the roof, materials to build it were no longer available. The buiding remained roofless throughout the war, and it was only in 1947, when Fr. A. Antonissen was Rector of Penamapng, that it was completed.[127] In one sense it was providential that Mgr. Wachter never saw his church completed. Australian intelligence had been informed that by 1945 the Japanese occupation forces had commandeered all Catholic mission buildings as military barracks and the churches became therefore important bombing targets. The roofless state of the Penampang church indicated that it was not a military strong point, and thus rendered it safe from bombing.[128]

Between 1927 and 1929 twenty-one priests and four laybrothers were sent to North Borneo. This permitted the opening of statinns at Kudat and Tuaran in 1930 and at Keningau and Kuala Belait in 1936, the only stations that marked the entry of the mission into entirely new territory.[129] For the rest, Mgr. Wachter followed a policy of expansion in depth. He increased the staff of existing headstations and encouraged the establishment of outstations with no resident priest. The three centres for such expansion were Jesselton, Penampang and Papar. Jesselton handled the Shantung settlements and expanded along the Tuaran road to serve outstations at Mengatal and Telipuk. Penampang looked after outstations at Putatan, Limbanak, Inobong, Kinarut and Inanam. Papar mission expansion followed the railway line with outstations

126. Interviews with Fr. W. Smit and Bro. Pius v.d. Sande, November 1978.
127. Interviews with a number of parishioners from Penampang, March and April 1979.
128. See Chapter Six.
129. Mgr. Wachter's Diary chronicles his visits to all these places, but does not mention Kuala Belait at all. Information about this place has come mainly from the stories of Fr. A. Crowther who was the writer's Rector at Kota Belud in 1963 and 1964.

at Membakut, Beaufort and Tenom.[120] After the death of Fr. Goossens, the Limbahau station was re-roganized so that Kinuta and Kuala Penyu became its outstations. A similar approach was used in Kudat where the priests resided in the township, but the bulk of the Catholics were to be found in the outstations at Taipa, Tajau and Penongsu.[131] The only exception to this general policy was the Tambunan mission where the two priests lived separately at Tambunan and Tobo.

Popular memory in Sabah associates Mgr. Wachter particularly with the Kadazan, and little is said about his work among the Chinese. He did not speak Chinese, but was very conscious of the need to influence them, and in 1929 he asked the Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong to second a Chinese priest to North Borneo.[132] The priest sent out from Hong Kong was Fr. Joseph Shek, and Mgr. Wachter worked in close cooperation with him. They planned together a training programme for Chinese catechists and explored the possibilities of work among the Chinese in Kudat, in the gardens along the Jesselton-Tuaran road and the Shantung settlements behind Jesselton.[133] For a short time,too, he managed a Chinese school at Bongongon, close to the mission at Penampang.[134] With his encouragement,solid progress was made among the Chinese, but it was not so much dependent on the efforts of Mgr. Wachter as on the Chinese helpers whom he persuaded to do the work. Apart from Fr. Shek, the most prominent of these helpers was Mr. Thomas Lee Sin Sang who not only helped train catechists and seminarians, but was instrumental in helping to found the Jesselton Kung Ming School that was to be a strong Catholic influence among the Chinese of Jesselton.[135] A similar influence was exercised in Sandakan by the catechist, Mr. Thomas Fung Tai, father of the present Bishop of Kota Kinabalu.[136]

The work of Mgr. Wachter towards the establishment of religious institutes is described in Chapter Three, and Chapter Six chronicles his trials and finally his death at the hands of the Japanese. By all accounts he was a man of considerable drive and personality, with broad

120. For short periods in the 1930s there were resident priests at both Membakut and Beaufort, but the stations never really flourished until after the war.
121. The beginnings of Taipah, Tajau and Penongsu were the small groups of Chinese families brought together by Mgr. Wachter and Fr. J. Shek in 1929-30. See SBA-4-56 to 80. Wachter Diary.
132. SBA-4-4 ff. Fr. J. Shek appears suddenly in Mgr. Wachter's Diary on 4 April 1929 and thereafter there are constant references to trips in his company.
134. Interviews with Parish Council members in Penampang, March and April 1979.
135. Interviews with Mr. Thomas Lee Sin Sang, March 1979.
136. Interview with Mr. Damian Fung, Sandakan, March 1979.

human sympathies, but completely lacking in ability to take any long term view in money matters. This weakness would be regarded as praiseworthy in any ordinary priest, but it was a grave disadvantage in one who had overall charge of a PREFECTURE.

(iv)

When Mgr. Dunn left Sarawak on 11 December 1933 he fully expected to return, and left the Prefecture temporarily in the charge of his pro-Prefect, Fr. A. Hopfgartner. On his death, Fr. Hopfgartner took complete charge until he was appointed officially to succeed Mgr. Dunn.[137] His tenure of office began at a time of great difficulty. Sarawak had been hit badly by the world slump in trade, there was widespread destitution among the Chinese, ten thousand of whom had been persuaded by the Sarawak government to leave Sarawak and seek a living elsewhere in South East Asia.[138] Rubber prices were at an all time low, mortgages and rents due to the mission could not be collected from debtors who had barely enough to feed themselves and the investments of the mission paid no dividends. It was a time of great hardship when the opening of new mission stations could not be considered, but no stations were actually closed. There are no records of Mgr. Hopfgartner's feelings about this situation or of the measures he took to try to cope with it. Indeed no written records of his 1934-49 period of office survive at all. Former missionaries represent him as a hard working, not very effusive priest, self-effacing and humourous in a quiet gentle manner, but give no indication of his approach to running the Prefecture. Nevertheless, under his guidance the mission survived the slump of the 1930s, it weathered the Japanese occupation and began the slow task of re-opening and re-building the old stations once Sarawak became a colony in 1946. He died as quietly as he had lived on 15 May 1949. Fr. John Vos succeeded him immediately and was officially appointed his successor in November 1949.[139]

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137. A search through the Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vv. 25-27 (1933-5) has failed to turn up any notification of the official appointment of Mgr. Hopfgartner.

138. MHFA-1933-Loose File, Mgr. E. Dunn, Annual Report of Mission Work in the Prefecture of Sarawak, addressed to Propaganda Fide, 26 August 1933. A search through the bibliographies of several works on the history of Sarawak has failed to turn up any specific study of this topic. The nearest to a treatment of it is L.W. Jones, The Population of Borneo (London, 1966) p.149 which quotes from the Sarawak Gazette a statement that seems to disagree with Mgr. Dunn.

139. Millhilliana, January (1950), p.2.

(v)

In August 1945 the Fathers, Brothers and Sisters who had been imprisoned in Batu Lintang Internment Camp since 1942 were released and brought to Labuan for a short period of recuperation. At first they were surprised that Mgr. Wachter failed to come and meet them. By the end of September, however, it was certain that Mgr. Wachter and all the Tyrolese missionaries had perished.[140] So, in accordance with Constitution no. 171 of the Constitutions of St. Joseph's Society for Foreign Missions, Fr. A. Verhoeven assumed charge of the Prefecture of North Borneo. At first, it was difficult to obtain permission from the British Military Administration to allow the Fathers to return to their old mission stations, but, when Propaganda remitted to Jesselton all the Roman grants that had not been paid since 1942, plus a special rehabilitation grant, and the Mill Hill Missionaries lodged financial GUARANTEES with the War Office in London, the military objections to the return of the missionaries were withdrawn.[141]

Fr. Verhoeven decided that the British priests should return to Europe first, and the Dutch priests start immediately to re-open the mission stations.[142] After the British had returned, the Dutch would be permitted to take their leave if and when passages could be obtained. To relate the full details of the re-opening of the missions is impossible here. Most of them had been razed to the ground and the missionaries had to make do with atap sheds that gave shelter, served as churches and did duty as school rooms. The number of children needing schooling was so large that in many places classes were conducted under trees and in whatever open spaces were available. Despite the generosity of Propaganda and the Mill Hill headquarters in London, there was little money to pay for the re-building of the mission stations and Fr. Verhoeven had to negotiate assistance from the Commission for War Damages. The Commission was generous enough, but it was difficult to assess the total amount of damage suffered in the war. Fr. Verhoeven requested a lump sum of 300,000 Borneo dollars, a small enough sum if

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140. A full account of the death of these priests is given in Chapter Six.

141. MHFA-post-1933, Verhoeven to McLaughlin, 3 Dec. 1945. This letter informs Fr. T. McLaughlin that Propaganda had sent a special grant of 81,000 dollars. The Mill Hill guarantees are in letters: Australian Military Forces G.J. White to Mill Hill, 16 Oct. 1945; W.S. Morgan to Superior General, 16 Oct. 1945; War Office to McLaughlin, 20 Nov. 1945; Bridagier General Macaskie to Fr. S. O'callaghan, 22 Nov. 1945; Brigadier Gen. Macaskie to F.K. Boyle Colonial Office , 22 Nov. 1945.

142. Interview with Fr. J. v. Haaren, December 1978.

one considers the extent of the damage.[143] It is difficult to ascertain how this sum was calculated of how much was actually paid to the mission in war damage compensation, as the mission accounts for the period have not survived.

Fr. Verhoeven, meanwhile, set in motion the process of appointing a new Prefect. All the Fathers on the mission were invited to submit the names of three persons whom they regarded as suitable for the office. These were sent to the London headquarters of the Mill Hill Missionaries for scrutiny, the Superior General then submitted three names from the list to the Prefect of Propaganda, and in due course the appointment was made from Rome. The poor communications between the Far East and Europe immediately after the Second World War delayed the process of appointment and it was not until 18 January 1947 that Fr. James Buis was appointed Prefect.[144] Born in Leijden in 1903, Fr. Buis was ordained priest and appointed to Sarawak in 1927. There he served at Kanowit and Sibu, and between 1930 and 1934 he was director of the catechists' school at Kanowit.When the missionaries were interned at Batu Lintang, Mgr. T. v. Valenberg, the camp leader for the priests, recognized in him a man of both boldness and discretion, cool headed in any tight situation.[145] So he appointed Fr. Buis camp quartermaster with exclusive responsibility for undertaking any bartering that was necessary to keep the internees from starving.He performed this task so effectively and with such tact that he gained the respect of all who had been with him in the camp. This was probably the main reason why the North Borneo Fathers recommended him for the office of Prefect, despite the fact that he was from another Prefecture.

Fr. Buis was preparing to go on leave at the time he recieved his appointment and had managed to gain a passage to Europe. Since such passages were scarce he decided not to forego his leave by going to North Borneo to take up his appointment. Instead he took official possession of his office in the presence of Mgr. G. Alcimondi, Vicar Apostolic of Singapore, and appointed Fr. A. McCarthy to act for him in North Borneo until he could arrive there after his leave.[146] It was providential that his leave in Europe coincided with his appointment as Prefect, since the year 1947 happened to be a most suitable time for raising funds in the Netherlands. The German occupying forces

143. MHFA-post-1933,Verhoeven to McLaughlin, 3 Dec. 1945. This letter assesses the losses at between 250,000 and 300,000 dollars.
144. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.30 no. 3 (1947) p.95, 18 Jan. 1947.
145. Interview with Bishop T. v. Valenberg, April 1980.
146. Interviews with Bishop Buis, December 1978, and Fr. W. Smit, April 1981.

in the Netherlands between 1940 and 1945 had debased the Dutch currency to such an extent that the government of the Netherlands decided in 1947 decided to issue a completely new currency. New money could be exchanged for old in accordance with a set of regulations and conditions that included the need to prove that the money had not been earned on the black market or gained in any otherwise illicit way. Charities were exempted from the need to justify the provenance of the moneys they presented for exchange, and many Dutchmen salved their consciences by donating large sums of old money to charity.Many parishes in the Netherlands were enabled to wipe out their parish debts almost overnight, and missionaries who happened to be on leave were able to collect large sums of money to subsidize the re-building of mission stations throughout the world. Mgr. Buis was able to arrive in North Borneo at the end of 1947 with 80,000 Borneo dollars to the credit of the Prefecture.[147]

Immediately after his arrival, he toured all the missions that had been re-opened by that time and then consulted with his advisers, Frs. A. Verhoeven and A. Antonissen, concerning some sort of strategy for the future. It seemed evident that the first priority must be the re-building of the pre-war mission stations. Such a policy was deemed inadequate, however, and it seemed imperative that the re-building programme must be accompanied with a set of plans for expansion.[148] Under Mgr. Buis' guidance the next seventeen years were to witness a truly extraordinary expansion of the mission's commitments in North Borneo. The first focus of expansion was the railway line. By 1963 there were headstations at Jesselton, Tanjong Aru, Limbahau, Papar, Membakut, Beaufort, Tenom and into the interior at Keningau, Tambunan and Tobo. The next focus was the Jesselton-Tuaran-Ranau road, with stations established at Inanam, Telipuk, Tuaran, Bundu Tuhan and Ranau. In the middle 1960s the Tuaran-Kudat outstations were linked up with the establishment of headstations at Kota Belud and Tandek. Expansion on the East Coast was slower with only one new station at Lahad Datu. Later Sandakan expanded along the Labuk road with a new station at Mile 6 and at Telupid. Bundu Kuala Penyu was constituted a headstation once more, and Labuan took on a new role when the mission orphanage was sited there. Expansion into the Murut parts of the country began from Keningau in the 1950s, but political circumstances prevented the opening of any headstations there and the

147. Interview with Bishop Buis, December 1978.
148. Ibid.

work continued to be handled from Keningau.[149]

Hand in hand with mission station expansion, there was also an increase in the educational commitments of the mission. In this matter the mission worked closely with the government and by the mid-1960s it was responsible for the management of 38 primary schools and 19 junior or senior secondary schools. A general pattern developed in mission stations that made the Rector primarily responsible for parish work and the assistant in charge of the schools.[150]

In 1951 Mgr. G. de Jonge d'Ardoye, Papal Internuncio to Jakarta, made a visitation of all the missions in Borneo and advised Propaganda that the time had come to raise the Prefecture of North Borneo to a Vicariate.[151] On 14 February 1952, by the decree Docet Usus, the Vicariate of Jesselton was erected, and Mgr. J. Buis was appointed first Vicar Apostolic. On 12 January 1953 he was nominated titular Bishop of Astipelaea and was consecrated bishop in his native Leijden some months later.[153] The special contributions that were made by Bishop Buis to the Vicariate of Jesselton are discussed elsewhere in this study. His strengths were his accessibility and diplomacy, his concern and care for the health and welfare of those who worked under him.[154] In 1967, when Bishop Buis was 65 years old, he decided to retire and offered his resignation to the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal G. Agagianan.[155] The latter declined to accept his resignation on the grounds that the difficulties the mission was beginning to experience with the government of Sabah demanded the guidance of a strong experienced bishop. Bishop Buis had worked very successfully with officers of the Brooke government and the Colonial administration, but he never quite got the measure of the Malaysian officials, and was less successful in his dealings with them. At that time, too, he became involved with an ultra-traditionalist group in the Dutch Church, known as De Confrontatie, and became very distressed by what he regarded as

149. Fr. G. Bauer was appointed to establish a mission among the Muruts in 1966. He aimed to establish himself at Tulid, but found it difficult to get settled. The trouble he had with the government is documented in Chapter Six, notes 127-31.
150. The writer worked within this system 1961-70.
151. The decree Docet Usus (note 152) states that Pope Pius XII acted on the advice of the Prefect of Propaganda and Mgr. de Jonge d'Ardoye.
152. Pope Pius XII, "Docet Usus", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.49 no.11 (1952), pp. 569-70, 14 Feb. 1952.
153. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.49 no.7 (1952) p.383, 12 Jan. 1953.
154. The writer worked under Bishop Buis for several years. It was the bishop's custom to rise at 5.00 a.m. and work steadily at his desk 9.30 a.m. Then he said Mass and had breakfast. From 10.30 a.m. he was available to anybody and could be seen without appointment.
155. Interview with Bishop Buis, December 1978.

the wave of faithlessness that had begun to sweep over Dutch Catholicism.[156] In 1969 he managed to prevail on the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to accept his resignation and permit him to go into quiet retirement, first in Limburg, and later at Vrijland, where he died in 1980.[157]

On 15 May 1949 Mgr. J. Hopfgartner died and was succeeded immediately by his pro-Prefect, Fr. John Vos.[158] A scholarly type, the new Prefect had been engaged mainly in school work and, during the years immediately preceeding his appointment, he had held the office of procurator and secretary to Mgr. Hopfgartner. One of the most important developments he had to deal with was the extraordinary increase in the numbers of conversions among the Kenyah of the Baram district, which made necessary an immediate intensification of work in that area. Both he and Mgr. Buis realized that this development might lead naturally to the establishment of a third Prefecture or Vicariate in Borneo, and in May 1950 they met privately at Kuala Belait to discuss the preparations which might be necessary for such an establishment. At the same time, they discussed a proposal by Propaganda that the two existing Prefectures should be raised to the rank of Vicariates.[159] On 14 November 1950 Mgr. Buis wrote to Propaganda and suggested that, when the two Prefectures were made Vicariates, the bounderies should be redefined so that Brunei would become part of the Vicariate of Kuching.[160] Propaganda accepted these suggestions and the decree Aequum Sane of 14 February 1952 erected the new Vicariate of Kuching and incorporated the boundary changes suggested by Bishop Buis.[161] Mgr. Vos was appointed first Vicar Apostolic of Kuching and at the same time nominated titular Bishop of Cnidi.[162] He began then to carry out a policy of

156. During his later years as Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Buis became obsessed with the idea of loyalty to the Holy Father. At the 1966 priests' meeting he requested that the Fathers all sign a pledge of loyalty to the Pope and was distressed when they refused. He did not understand that the reason for this was that they regarded the request as a challenge and that it implied that previously they had been lacking in obedience to the Holy See.
157. His resignation was accepted in principle only. In 1970 Fr. P. Chung was appointed auxiliary bishop with right of succession and it was understood that Bishop Buis should step down within a year of this appointment.
158. See note no. 139.
159. Interview with Bishop Buis, December 1978.
160. Bishop J. Buis, "Notitiae circa Status tum Materialem tum Formalem Praefecturae Apsotolicae de Borneo Septemtrionali", para.21, 14 Nov. 1950.
161. Pope Pius XII, "Aequum Sane", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.49 no.11 (1952),pp.568-9, 14 Feb. 1952.
162. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.49 no. 7 (1952), p.383, 14 Feb. 1952.

expansion and consolidation in the Baram district, and in Brunei, to prepare the teritory for the eventual establishment of the new Vicariate.[163]

Bishop Vos agreed bascially with expansionist educational policies of North Borneo, but differed from Bishop Buis in some matters of detail. By 1960 the Vicariate of Kuching was running 82 schools in Sarawak and Brunei[164] and, after the Brunei government withdrew subsidies from Christian schools in 1960, and the Brunei schools became completely private, Bishop Vos recognized the value of developing in Sarawak a few private schools that were quite separate from those that were managed by the mission in partnership with the government.[165] At the same time, he sought closer cooperation with the government in its own system of education and had a small number of priests seconded to government service in secondary schools and teacher training establishments.[166] He was first to succeed in acquiring the services of teaching Brothers and invited both the De La Salle Brothers and the Marist Brothers to help in the education work of the Sarawak mission.[167]

The services of a number of Chinese priests became available to the mission in Borneo in the early 1950s after the rise of Communist China. Some of these were refugees; others were newly ordained priests from the seminary in Hong Kong, who could not return to their homes on the mainland because of the changed political situation. Bishop Vos was the first to suggest to Mill Hill that Sarawak and North Borneo should offer them homes.[168] Twelve of these priests came to North Borneo and Sarawak, but one did not remain long and moved to take up work in the United States of America. They were to prove very valuable to the mission on three counts. First, they made possible a more effective evangelization of the Chinese. They also brought with them an enthusiasm for the lay apostolate and imported the Legion of Mary into Borneo.[169] Thirdly, although they always worked in close cooperation with the Mill Hill Missionaries, they maintained a sufficiently

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163. During the years 1952-8 the appointments policy of Bishop Vos brought about a high level of staff mobility in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Divisions of Sarawak. This constant moving of staff becomes comprehensible only when the future division of the Vicariate is borne in mind.
164. Archbishop P. Chung, Our Task and Our Responsibility (Kuching, 1977), p. 15.
165. See Chapter Five, note no. 84, and related discussion.
166. The Priests invovled in this work were Frs. A.D.Galvin, J. Hernon, J. Heery and G. Dunn.
167. See Chapter Three, notes nos. 38 & 43 and related discussion.
168. MHFA-post-1933, Miri File, Vos to Thoonen, 20 Feb. 1952.
169. See discussion relevant ot notes nos. 47'48 of Chapter Four.

separate identity to serve as a nucleus round which a local diocesan clergy, distinct from the Mill Hill Missionaries, could grow.

By the middle of August 1958 the Vicariate of Kuching had completed its plans for the erection of the new Vicariate in the North of Sarawak, and on 25 August Bishop Vos wrote to advise Fr. T. McLaughlin, Superior General at Mill Hill, that the new ecclesiastical territory should comprise the Fourth and Fifth Divisions of Sarawak and the State of Brunei, and that it should be designated a Vicariate from its inception.[170] Rome complied with this request on 19 December 1959 by the decree Quod Prophetae and instructed Fr. McLaughlin to submit the names of three priests he thought fit for appointment as Vicar Apostolic.[171] Fr. A.D. Galvin was appointed in 5 April 1960 and was instructed to present himself in Rome by 8 May to be consecrated by Pope John XXIII himself.[172] The official announcement of his nomination as titular Bishop of Letaea was not made until 24 January 1961.[173]

Bishop Galvin had to face a very formidable task in Miri, but was well qualified to handle it. He was a tall, sturdy man, well fitted for the demanding task of travelling round a Vicariate which had few roads or modern communications facilities. At the time of his appointment he was fluent only in Malay and Chinese, but with his knack for learning languages it was not long before he blossomed as a scholar of the Kenyah language. His previous training and life-long study of anthropology equipped him to take advantage of the post-Vatican II relaxation of central Church control which permitted a greater degree of indigenization in liturgy and catechesis. The numerous studies he published in several periodicals witness the thoroughness with which he approached this aspect of his work. Under his guidance the missions expanded gradually to embrace headstations at Tatau, Bintulu, Batu Niah, Miri,

170. MHFA-post-1923, Miri File, Vos to McLaughlin, 25 Aug. 1958.
171. MHFA-post-1933, Miri File. "Quod Prophetae" was never published in the Acta Apostolicae Sedis. The date of the decree is noted in the handwriting of Fr. T. McLaughlin.
172. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.52 no.7 (1960), p.486, 5 April 1960. The instruction was included in a letter from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to Fr. T. McLaughlin, 5 April 1960.
173. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.53 no.1 (1961), p. 74, 24 Jan. 1961. After his ordination in Glasgow on 29 June 1944 Fr, Galvin was sent to the University of Cambridge where he read clasics and anthropology. His first mission appointment was to North Borneo, but in 1953 he was transferred to Sarawak to teach at the Batu Lintang Teachers' Training College. In 1957 he was withdrawn from Sarawak to become Rector of St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, a position he held until he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Miri. The only time he was ever noticed by the world press was when grabbed hold of Pope Paul VI's would be assassin in the Philippines.

Lutong, Kuala Belait, Seria, Bandar Seri Begawan, Marudi, Long San, Long Lama and Long Luyang, and, especially in the interior, great stress was laid on socio-economic approaches which sought to provide cooperatives, medical services and training in agricultural crafts.[174] Through a network of friends and contacts throughout Europe and America he was able to find the funds to keep development moving at a fast pace.

After the erection of the Vicariate of Miri, Bishop Vos continued to work quietly for further consolidation of the work in the Vicariate of Kuching. In 1967, when he was sixty-five years old, he tendered his resignation to the Prefect of Propaganda, but it was not accepted immediately. Instead, Fr. C. Reiterer was appointed auxiliary bishop on 6 February 1967 and was instructed to assist Bishop Vos for a period of about one year, after which he would take over and Bishop Vos would be permitted to retire to his homeland. He died in the Netherlands at Hoorn on 29 June 1973.

Where Bishop Buis was uncertain in his handling of the problems that Malaysia brought to the Church and where Bishop Vos trod with delicate care, Bishop Galvin grasped difficulties with firmness. The missionary expulsions from Sabah affected him profoundly, and he was worried about the future stability of the work in his Vicariate. He approached these difficulties at three levels. He threw the weight of his authority behind Fr. J. Pichler's efforts to improve the education of catechists and saw to it that their status was officially recognized and nurtured.[176] He was the inspiration behind the establishment in 1972 of an experimental seminary in Kuching to promote the TRAINING and ordination of young men of special merit who lacked the full formal educational background that is normally required of candidates for the priesthood. In the meetings of the Malaysian Bishops' Conference and the Roman Synods he was an enthusiastic advocate of change in Church policies so as to permit the ordination of married men.[177] In these efforts he achieved only partial success, but it is surely noteworthy that by 1976 the ratio of diocesan as distinct from missionary priests to Catholic population in his diocese was 1 : 4,475 and, if catechists are also considered as church ministers, this ratio improves to 1 : 1,491. If these ratios are compared with those of Kuching, 1 : 7,675 and 1 : 2,398 respectively, the

174. The poor public communications in the Fourth and Fifth Divisions have contributed to the slow effect which marked these approaches.
175. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v. 59 nos. 6 & 11 (1967) pp.441&745, 6 Feb. 1967.
176. It was under Bishop Galvin that the first catechists were officially commissioned and began to wear a distinctive uniform.
177. See Chapter Four, notes nos. 37 & 38 and related discussion.

comparative success of the Galvin policies becomes evident.

When Bishop Reiterer took over the administration of the Vicariate of Kuching he did not make any obvious changes in policy. He was not the sort of man to write about his aims or discuss them in any academic manner, but it is evident from his actions that his administration was more responsive than directive. In other words, he did not approach his work from the position of a previously worked out plan of action. His actions can be understood instead as responses to needs as they became evident. Thus in 1969 he called two synods, one for the First Division missionaries and one for the Third Division missionaries.[178] Following on these synods there came the realization that there was need for cooperation with the Vicariate of Miri in three areas of work : the training of catechists, priestly formation and the indigenization of the liturgy. Fr. F. Vergeer of the Kuching Vicariate was assigned, therfore, to work in close cooperation with Fr. J. Pichler of Miri to carry through a common catechists'training programme.[179] Fr. H. Plattner of Miri was assigned to work with Fr. J. Wassermann and Fr. T. Burke of Kuching to train candidates for the priesthood at the Kuching experimental seminary.[180] It was obvious, too, that Iban liturgical policies must be coordinated for the two Vicariates and a joint Iban liturgical commission was set up in 1970 to prepare common texts and directives for Iban liturgies.[181] The synods also revealed the need for some sort of Vicariate pastoral council made up of priests, religious and laity to coordinate developments throughout the Vicariate. The first of these was held in 1971, but the 1971 meeting was really only a dress rehearsal for the more important Second Pastoral Council which was held in December 1972, the findings of which are discussed elsewhere in this study.[189]

(vii)

The last Vicar Apostolic of both Kota Kinabalu and Kuching was Bishop Peter Chung. He was born on 10 September 1928 in Hupeh, China and entered the diocesan minor seminary of Hupeh in 1940. In 1947 he

178. Archbishop P. Chung, Our Task and Our Responsibility (Kuching, 1977), p.40.
179. See Chapter Four, section (iii).
180. Interviews with Fr. H. Plattner and Fr. T. Burke, June and Jan. 1978.
181. Interview with Fr. F. Franklin, May 1981
182. SWA-2-23 to 35, Reports of the Second Pastoral Council of Kuching Vicariate, 11-12 December 1973, Kuching.

he entered the Regional Major Seminary at Han-Kow, but in 1949, when Han-Kow was on the verge of falling to the Communist forces, the whole seminary was moved first to Hong Kong and later to Macao. When he completed his studies at Macao he was invited to come to Kuching by Bishop J. Vos and was ordained there on 26 September 1954. After nine years, during which he served at several stations in Sarawak and found himself in the Miri Vicariate when the division was made in 1959. Bishop Galvin sent him to Rome to study canon law and he gained a Doctorate in Laws in 1966. From 1968 he held at the same time three offices, Rector of Kuala Belait, Principal of St. John's School Kuala Belait and Vicar Delegate of Miri. It was quite evident that Bishop Galvin was grooming him as his successor. In 1969-70 there was considerable controversy in Sabah over the choice of a suitable successor for Bishop Buis, there being no suitably qualified candidate among the non-Mill Hill priests. Fr. Chung was chosen in 1970 to become coadjutor bishop to Bishop Buis and succeeded him at the end of the year.[183]

When Bishop Chung arrived in Sabah he found the Church in a state of turmoil. The Mustapah persecution was in full swing, missionary personnel was greatly depleted by expulsions and the government refused to grant a residence permit to the new bishop. Yet, not only did Bishop Chung survive for five years in this atmosphere, he managed also to implement positive policies. It was under his guidance that the laity in Sabah grew to the stature and importance that they have today. He was the first President of the PAX[184] and he worked assiduously with the PAX to stave off the worse effects of the persecution. For five years he governed the Vicariate in very uncomfortable circumstances, having to enter the State on a series of temporary visitor's permits. In 1975, after the sudden death of Bishop Reiterer of Kuching, his period of trial came to an end and he was transferred to take charge of the Vicariate of Kuching.[185] A year later, he became first Archbishop of Kuching on the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Province of East Malaysia.[186]

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183. Acta Apostolicae Sedis v.62 no. 9 (1970), p. 646, 1 Sept. 1970.
184. PAX = Persatuan Agama Katolik Sabah (Sabah Catholic Religious Union).
185. Acta Apsotolicae Sedis, v.67 no.3 (1975) p. 208, 31 Jan. 1975.
186. Pope Paul VI, "Quoniam Deo Favente", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v. 68 no.7 (1976) p.450, 31 May 1976.

CHAPTER THREE

M I S S I O N A R Y R E L I G I O U S

An understanding of the role of missionary religious demands some knowledge of the distinctions that separate religious institutes within the Catholic Church. Historical factors have tended to blur the general distinctions set out in canon law and it is often difficult to state with absolute accuracy that a particular institute belongs to one and only one legal classification. The broad legal distinction is between institutes that are orders, congregations and societies and has its basis in the status of the vows taken by the members of these institutes. Orders take solemn vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and are divided sometimes into first, second and third orders. First orders are for men religious, priests and Brothers, under obedience to a superior, known sometimes as an abbot, sometimes as a prior or guardian. Second orders are exclusively for women who take the same vows as the men and are often cloistered. Membership of third orders is open to religious and lay persons of either sex. Religious third order members take simple vows and are said to be third order regulars. Lay third order members are said to be third order seculars and need not take any vows at all. All that is required of them is that they commit themselves to live according the the spirit of the rule of the order. Congregations are institutes of either men or women religious who take simple vows and dedicate themselves to particular services and charities within the Church. It happens often enough that these congregations are part of the third order of an order to which they are affiliated. A relatively recent development in the Church has been the growth of religious institutes for men, called societies, often dedicated to a very specific type of apostolate. Members of such societies do not take vows, but undertake to practise the evangelical counsels in accordance with a set of rules, known as constitutions, which lay down the degree of poverty, chastity and obedience that is required.

A further distinction needs to be made between religious institutes of the contemplative life and those of active life. Contemplatives occupy themselves with prayer and work that is directly concerned with worship. Common MISUNDERSTANDING views them as mystics, but their real

function is to insure that the Church's official worship of God continues uninterrupted. Popular Catholicism endows them with the task of saying all the prayers that ordinary people do not have time to say. Religious of active life seek holiness through the charitable works and services which are their specific tasks.

A quality that distinguishes orders and congregations from societies is that their rules are regarded as important parts of the Church's community life and in addition to the local services they provide they are expected to promote and perpetuate their own specific rule within the indigenous Church. They may achieve this either by recruiting indigenous members or by being parent to to indigenous religious institutes of a rule and inspiration similar to their own. The work of a society differs from that of an order or congregation in that it is purely service centred. Societies are not expected to recruit LOCAL MEMBERS AND MAY EVEN BE FORBIDDEN BY CONSTITUTIONS TO DO so. They may be said to have fulfilled their function once their services are no longer necessary.

(ii)

The stress that the early missionaries laid on education set the foundations on which to build a strong influence on Borneo family life, an influence that grew through the young men who were educated in the schools and was stronger in the case of those young men who happened to be abang or eldest brother in the family. There was a danger, however, that this influence might be frustrated unless it was wedded to a similar influence within the female power structures of Borneo society. The difficulties the missionaries faced were two-fold. Traditional society did not appreciate any need to educate women and such training as was thought to be necessary for them could not be entrusted to men. There was indeed only one traditional means by which missionaries could have had an influence on women, but this means was unacceptable in a Christian context. For its traditional vehicle depended in some tribes on the special position of the menang, a religious man who was endowed by custom with a certain quality of bi-sexuality that permitted him to operate on the borders between male and female society.[1] The missionaries never considered being thought of as Christian menang and we may suppose that their reason for ignoring this possibility was that the exercise of the menang's function sometimes involved a certain degree

1. This must not be understood in an sexually perverted sense. Hose & McDougall, Pagan Tribes, v.2 p. 199 observes that sexually deviant behaviour is rare among Borneo's indigenes.

of transvestite behaviour that was quite unacceptable in a Christian context. Nevertheless, it was necessary that some means of influencing the women should be found. For the future stability of the Christian community demanded that the young men converts should have Catholic girls to marry.

Considerations such as these led Fr. Jackson to seek out a congregation of Missionary Sisters who would be prepared to work alongside the Mill Hill Missionaries to achieve the same sort of influence with the women that the Fathers were beginning to achieve with the men.[2] His visit to London for the 1884 General Chapter of the Mill Hill Missionaries was an opportunity to seek the help of such a congregation of Sisters, but he was unsuccessful at first and it was not until he turned his eyes away from the already established congregations that he realized that his best hope of assistence would come from the group of Sisters founded by Alice Ingham and which had been constituted a religious congregation only two years previously.[3]

Alice Ingham was a Lancashire mill girl, daughter of a Rochdale baker, who had dedicated herself to the care and instruction of poor children in her own home town. She was joined in this work by other like minded women who agreed to live and work with her in a little flat above her stepmother's pastry shop. In 1871 Bishop J. Turner of Salford intended to constitute the little group into a diocesan congregation of Sisters. He died before this could be accomplished, but his successor, Bishop H. Vaughan, did not feel that the group was sufficiently mature to be given official recognition by the Church. He encouraged them nevertheless to continue working and living together according to the rule of the Franciscan third order regular and sought to employ them in two ways. He thought they might be very suitable people to run homes and hospices for the waifs and strays picked up off the streets of Manchester by the Catholic Rescue Society Bishop Vaughan had just founded. He saw also that they might develop into a Sister Congregation to the Mill Hill Missionaries and, as a preliminary to achieving this, he enlisted their help in taking over the domestic arrangements at St.

2. MHFA-13-F-17. Jackson Letter of Appeal, July 1884. Fr. Jackson does not include the remarks made concerning the position of the menang.

3. Anon., Light after Darkness (Glasgow, 1963) pp. 145 ff. Fr. JAckson seems to have made most of his requests by word of mouth. There is only one record of a refusal and this came from the Holy Cross Sisters of Liège. MHFA-13-F-28, Mère Victorine to Fr. Jackson, 13 July 1884. The first request for Sisters came from Fr. A. Goossens in 1882. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p. 20.

Joseph's College, Mill Hill. By 1879 they were busy with both these tasks and in March 1883 they became a religious congregation of Sisters under the supervision of the Mill Hill Missionaries. Alice Ingham became the first superior and was known thereafter as Mother Francis. Approval of the new congregation came when Mother Francis was 53 years old, thirty years after she had dedicated her life to works of charity and fifteen years after she and her companions had decided to live and work in community. In 1884 the new congregation suffered a set back when the Sisters working at Childs Hill, London, split off to form a separate congregation that became known later as the Littlehampton Sisters.[4]

Whether Fr. Jackson's decision to seek the help of Mother Francis was the fruit of exasperation or divine providence depends very much on one's point of view. He had met with so many disappointments when he asked the help of others and he was very discouraged. His opinion of the Sisters was that they were good hearted simple ladies of great genrosity, but not very well qualified. Yet as soon as the decision was made, the projected mission of the Sisters seemed to take on an impetus of its own. Five Sisters were chosen for the first group : Sister Helen, Sister Theresa, Sister Mary of the Cross, Sister Aloysius and Sr. Josephine. A special appeal was lauched to find finance for their work and gifts began to pour in. It was not long before the Sisters had got together their basic kit and on 10 May 1885 Sr. Helen pronounced her final vows. The others renewed their temporary vows and on the Feast of the Ascension, 15 May, the group left England and arrived in Kuching on 5 July 1885.[5]

Fr. Jackson's concern and care for the Sisters' welfare reveals something of the simplicity of the lives led by the early missionaries. In March 1885 he wrote to Fr. H. Couvreur, the Paris Foreign Missionaries' procurator in Singapore, to ask him to find furniture for the Kuching convent, especially good bedsteads. " I want them [the Sisters] to be as comfortable as I can make them and not be forced to sleep on the floor as my Fathers do."[6] He was anxious that they be comfortably housed, but could not immediately provide them with suitable accomodation. Instead he rented a house on Pearse Road at $11.00 per month until a proper convent could be built. The site most suitable for the

4. This is an abstract from Light after Darkness, pp. 41-62,93-112, 132-6.
5. SWA-3-Steal v.1 p. 48.
6. SWA-3-Steal v.1 p. 47.

convent was part of a twenty-two acre plot, but the owner refused to sell part of his land and Fr. Jackson was forced to buy the whole plot for $1,775.00.[7] At the time he thought that the mission could never use so much land, but it was to prove a valuable investment for the Kuching mission. The building of the convent cost another $1,800.00. Fr. Jackson was never very good at managing money and he blamed the costs involved in building the convent for the collaps of his cherished plans for financing the mission. For he had hoped that the money he had collected in Europe would help cover the costs of the mission for some years to come and give the missionaries a breathing space during which to set up income producing plantations that would take care of their future needs. The money laid out on the Sisters was one of the items that put an end to this hope.

Having laid out so much effort and money to bring the Sisters to Borneo, Fr. Jackson was anxious to see them start work as soo as possible. After spending six months learning the language they were able to open a little convent school, but the general apathy about the education of girls was such that their first intake was a very small number of orphans. The five Sisters were underemployed and it was necessary as soon as possible to split up the community in order to go to the aid of the mission stations outside Kuching. The Fathers in these stations, aware of the cost of the Kuching foundation and the slowness the Sisters showed in establishing themselves as a working community, were fearful of the large expense that might be incurred before any effective results might become evident. The superstition with which sailors regarded the prospect of having nuns aboard their ships made it difficult to find transport for the Sisters once they had been appointed to the stations outside Kuching.

A further set of difficulties arose from the way the Sisters lived. Out of deference to traditional attitudes to women, the Fathers met the Sisters only in an official capacity after Mass on Sundays, a custom adhered to rigourously until several years after the Second World War. It had definite advantages in that it established a correct local image of the special type of life led by the Sisters, but it resulted in poor communications between the Fathers and the Sisters, and underlined the tendency of the two groups to work separately. Because the 1883 troubles at Childs Hill both Fr. Benoit and Mother Francis wanted to maintain direct control of the work of the Sisters in Borneo, an aim that was incompatable with smooth cooperative relations with the

7. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 48-49.

the Fathers and the Prefect. Although the constitutions of the Fathers gave them the right to companionship in their work, it was accepted as an unavoidable neccessity that most of them had to spend long periods on their own and had to depend on their own personal resources for survival. The Sisters saw community living as essential to their effectiveness and judged that no group of Sisters working together should be less than four.

A good deal depended on the attitude of the local Rector. The Sisters were dependent on the mission for their total upkeep and, where the local Rector was kind and considerate, few problems arose. If the mission station was short of funds or the Rector particularly tight fisted the Sisters had to suffer hardship. It was important too that the Rector should employ them in a way best suited to their talents. The authorities in England did not realize at first that the mission work in Borneo demanded not simply a willingness to work hard and generously, but also a number of specialized skills to fit the Sisters for work as catechists, teachers and nurses. In an effort to improve their quality, some postulants were recruited from Australia, but only one of them was actually professed.

Fr. Jackson requested Fr. Dunn in 1886 to receive the Sisters at Kanowit, but Fr. Dunn considered that Kanowit's first priorty was the building of a church and the Sisters would have to wait until that was finished. They did not arrive in Kanowit until 1888 and their arrival was the signal for a rebuke from Mill Hill. Fr. Benoit complained bitterly about the division of the Kuching community and warned that nothing good would come out of it.[9] Fr. Jackson did not see that there would be sufficient work in any station for more than three Sisters, and he felt that to be effective they must be willing to work in small groups. The building of larger convents in Borneo was bound to be conducive to the sort of idleness that breeds unhappiness.[10] It was agreed eventually that the ideal number of Sisters per convent should be four, but it was some time before this agreement could be implemented and the restriction it imposed slowed down the already halting progress of the Sisters' work. It was not until 1891 that there were sufficient Sisters to open two more convents, one at Sandakan and one at the Singhi.[11]

The small size of the communities and the restricted nature of

8. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 59-60, Jackson to Dunn, March 1886.
9. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p. 125.
10. Ibid.
11. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p. 66.

the employment of the Sisters soon began to tell on their nerves and two of them became very difficult for the others to bear. Fr. Jackson tried to solve the problem by sending one of the offending Sisters back to Europe, but she refused to go and threatened to run off into the jungle. He was powerless to do anything in the face of her threats. By 1894 he was so annoyed that he vowed that he would accept no more Sisters from Mill Hill and would allow the convents already established to close.[12] In a conference to the Sisters at Kuching he threatened that he would send them all back to Europe even if he had to bankrupt the mission in the process. The Sisters seemed to take his words to heart and by the middle of 1894 tempers had cooled.[13] Fr. Jackson had begun to realize that the Fathers were as much to blame as the Sisters. By the end of the year he was planning a new convent at Papar[14] and in June he wrote to congratulate Fr. Dunn on the improved work the Sisters had been doing in Kanowit.[15] By 1897, when Fr. Dunn succeeded Fr. Jackson as Prefect, these early troubles were a thing of the past and the Sisters were fruitfully employed at Kuching, Kanowit, the Singhi, Sandakan and Papar.

The First Provincial Chapter of 1897 declared:[16]

> ...No lasting success can possibly be expected on this mission without the help of nuns. It is absolutely necessary that several convents should be immediately started in N.B. [North Borneo]; we have not the means to support these convents; we are therefore under necessity to ask if arrangements may be made for the introduction of another self-supporting order of nuns for that portion of the mission.

Fr. Steal notes that Fr. J. Aelen of Roosendaal negotiated to obtain the services of the Dutch Sisters of Bois le Duc, but that Cardinal Vaughan refused to permit these Sisters to go to Borneo.[17] The matter was raised again in 1909, but at that time Sister Helen was the one who objected, arguing that the Sisters were already thought to be failures as missionaries and the introduction of another congregation might only confirm this reputation.[18] Fr. Dunn replied that he did not think that such an argument would find the approval of St. Francis of Assisi,[19] but he dropped the idea all the same.

The Provincial Chapter of 1897 laid down strict rules regarding

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12. SWA-3-Steal v.2 pp. 104-5, Jackson to Dunn, undated.
13. SWA-3-Steal v.2 pp. 104-8 & 118.
14. SWA-3-Steal v.2 p.116.
15. SWA-3-Steal v.2 p.132.
16. SWA-10-5, First Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, Nov. 1897.
17. SWA-3-Steal v.2 p.173.
18. SWA-4-Steal v.2 p. 111-2, Sr. Helen to Fr. Dunn, 13 March 1909.
19. SWA-4-Steal v.2 p.112, Fr. Dunn to Sr. Helen, 13 March 1909.

relations between priests, Brothers and Sisters and decreed that the function of the Sisters was the conversion of the heathen, not the organization of the domestic arrangements of the mission stations.[20] These rules are reiterated in the Provincial Chapter of 1901,[21] but are not mentioned thereafter. The new rules had been fruitful towards better understanding and the contribution of the Sisters to the mission work began to expand steadily. In North Borneo convents were started at Inobong and Jesselton and in Sarawak at Mukah and Sibu. For a short time there was a convent at Saga, but this had to be closed for lack of work.[22] Fr. Staal reports that in 1920 the Sisters became financially independent of the mission.[23] Yet in 1921 the Provincial Chapter busied itself with the task of trying to find a suitable formula that would define the limits of this financial independence. The formula chosen was heavily criticised by Mill Hill and the Prefect was advised to re-negotiate the whole agreement.[24] The Superior General, Fr. F. Henry, endorsed the report of the Provincial Chapter in what must be a unique way. He states simply:[25]

> My signature which I have attached to this Report merely means that I have read it and does not signify that I agree with all the Resolutions which it contains.

There is no record of how the re-negotiation was conducted, but Fr. Staal's formulation, attributed to 1920, seems accurate enough:[26]

> ...all properties appertaining to the convents in Borneo- buildings, lands, donations, legacies, etc., etc. with the exception of the Sisters' patrimonialia and gifts from their motherhouse in England - belong to the Borneo mission, but may be administered by the Sister Superior subject to the Prefect in the same way as Rectors administer other Borneo mission property.

This agreement was the basis of a custom established in East Malaysian Borneo which places religious institutes in an extraordinary legal position in respect of the ownership of property. Canons 531 ff. grant to such institutes the right to own immovable property the income from which may be used for the furtherance of their work. In Borneo such property may only be administered by the religious institute and ownership stands with the local Church.

This new financial independence increased the Sisters' commitment

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20 SWA-10-6. First Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, Nov. 1887.
21. SWA-10-14 to 15. Second Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, August 1901.
22. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 137.
23. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.20.
24. SWA-10-42 to 43. Sixth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, 1921.
25. SWA-10-43.
26. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.20.

to the general interests of the mission and between 1920 and 1940 the work of educating women expanded steadily. The better educated Sisters sent out from England were able to add quality to this educational work so that many of the convent schools acquired fine local reputations. It was at this time too that the mission's medical work expanded under the Sisters' care. In 1926 a beginning was made towards the foundation of a local congregation of Sisters in Sarawak and by 1930 moves were afoot to establish a similar congregation in North Borneo.

On 10 June 1930 the Sisters from Mill Hill received the decretum laudis that gave them the status of a pontifical congregation and was the final degree of independence from the Mill Hill Missionaries.[27] By that time a definite pattern had been established which deliniated the different responsibilities of the Fathers and Sisters. The Sisters looked after the education of girls, female and younger boy orphans, dispensaries, cottage hospitals and any mission work that was exclusively the domain of women. They also concerned themselves with the maintenance of cleanliness in mission churches and, in some stations, they supervised the domestic arrangements in the Fathers' houses. This left the Fathers and Brothers free to carry out their pastoral work, to handle education in the boys' schools, to care for older male orphans and any other work that was necessary. It is difficult to discern any pattern of financial support, but by the 1930s the Sisters had complete financial control over the income that was allocated to the work that was their immediate concern.

(iii)

In his letter to missionaries, Rerum Ecclesiae of 28 February 1926, Pope Pius XI made known his desire that communities of contemplative religious should be established in mission countries.[28] In 1928 the Benedictines of Sophen les Bruges in Belguum decided to write letters to all missionary ordinaries throughout the world to discover which of these would welcome a contemplative foundation, what were the prospects of finding indigenous recruits for the contemplative orders and what local provision could be made for the maintenance of such

27. Acta Apostolicae Sedis v.22 no.10 (1930) p. 457. This decree was issued for a trial period of seven years, but the final decree did not come until 6 June 1939. Sacra Congregatio de Religiosis, 147 Decretum N.5871=38 S.51.
28. Pope Pius XI, "Rerum Ecclesiae", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.18 no.3 p.79, 28 Feb. 1926. CTS edition p.22.

foundations.[29] Issue no. 1 (1930) of the Benedictine review Contemplation and Apostolate was given over to a report on the replies received from missionary countries. One hundred and five missions, among them the Prefecture Apostolic of North Borneo, had asked for contemplative foundations.

On 4 February 1930 a copy of this review reached the Carmelite convent of Ponzano, Madrid, where it caused a flutter of excitement among the younger Sisters, many of whom wanted to volunteer for a new foundation in Borneo. By the end of the year a group of five PROFESSED Sisters, Srs. Josephine (prioress), Mariana, Margarita, Casilda, Mary Joseph and one novice, Sr. Conception of the Most Holy Trinity, were chosen to go to Borneo. They arrive in Jesselton on 18 December and took up residence immediately in a house that Mgr. Wachter had bought for them with money sent from Ponzano. It took six months to complete the building of the convent, but long before it was ready the money had run out and the Sisters were left dependent on whatever alms people cared to give them. From this early period of near destitution they developed a policy and attitude to money which led them to agree to accept postulants without dowry.

The arrival of the Carmelites was especially welcomed by Sr. Rose, then at St. Francis Convent, Jesselton. She had been a great admirer of the Carmelite rule and at a later date was to enter Carmel to test her own vocation. She found that the life was not for her, but she encouraged the young convent school girls to consider the contemplative vocation, and soon a number of postulants entered Carmel from her little group of interested girls. By the beginning of the Japanese occupation half a dozen of these, Kadazan, Chinese and Eurasian, had become professed Sisters.

The trials that the Carmelites suffered during the Japanese occupation are dealt with in Chapter Six. What caused them very great distress was the difficulty in making the Japanese administration realize that they were a contemplative order. When the imprisonment of the British and Dutch priests, Brothers and Sisters brought about the closure of the schools, the Japanese THOUGHT it a very simple matter for the Carmelites to take over where the other Sisters had left off. The Sisters held to their rule, however, and resisted any temptation to give in to the Japanese demands. The Japanese may not have understood very

29. The account that follows is abstracted from the anonymously written, A Hidden Fire on the Missions. The Life of Mother Margaret Mary of Jesus. (Kuching, 1977).

much about the Carmelite way of life, but it fascinated them and, throughout the occupation, the convent became a sort of tourist attraction for visiting senior officers, who drove up and expected to be admitted into the convent at any hour of the day for long interminably curious visits, during which the Sisters were often pestered with impertinent questions of a very private and personal nature. Mgr. Wachter reports that during one of these visits the Sisters got so fed up that they took out their sewing, a rebuke that was completely lost on the visiting officers.[30]

The admirable tenacity the Carmelites showed in holding fast to their rule even in these most trying circumstances also had its less pleasing side. The Fathers at one time viewed this tenacity as mere stubbornness.[31] The Carmelite rule is very specific on matters of dress and the modern Carmelite sees strict adherence to these rules as a religious hallmark. They sound harsh enough for a climate as mild as Spain, but are seen to be quite inhuman in the tropical rainforest climate of Borneo.[32] The Spanish Carmelites saw no reason to try to mitigate the discomforts that their habit occasioned and saw them as a means of discipline and mortification. Mgr. Wachter tried without success to get them to change their habit, but it was only in the mid-1950s that a change was made in response to a direct command issued from the Carmelite Generalate in Rome at the request of Bishop Buis.[33]

The Sisters were anxious for some time that Carmelite priests should come to Borneo, but the Mill Hill Missionaries, aware of the reputation of the Friars in the Philippines, had no intention of granting this request. Mgr. Wachter was quite blunt. Rome had allocated North Borneo to Mill Hill and , so far as he was concerned, things were going to stay that way. A later request made to Mgr. Buis in 1949 received a more diplomatic reply, but equally negative. Any Carmelite Friar might come, provided he was fluent in English and at least one Borneo language and was willing to accept transfer within the island according to the needs of the mission and the will of the Prefect.[34]

30. SBA-6-158. North Borneo Report to Propaganda, 1946.
31. Interview with Bishop Buis, December 1978. When Fr. F. Sint was asked once what he would do if he was made Pope for a day, he replied : "I would abolish the Eucharistic fast and the Carmelite rule."
32. See e.g. A.Peers (translator), The Complete Works of St. Teresa of Jesus (London, 1946), The Way of Perfection, v.2 p. 8, On the Visitation of Convents, v.3 p. 250, Constitutions and Fasts, v.3 p.222.
33. SBA-6-88, North Borneo Report to Propaganda, 10 March 1953.
34. Interview with Bishop Buis, December 1978.

No Carmelite Friar could be expected to agree to forfeit the order's ancient privileges to come to Borneo. The only Borneo citizen to become a Carmelite Friar was Fr. JohnMary Chin who joined the Carmelites in Manila.

In 1942 when the Japanese landed at Kudat they asked Fr. J. Theurl about his nationality and he replied that he was Austrian. They thought he had said he was Australian and promptly took him into custody. It took five months to have him released from the Kuching internment camp and returned to Jesselton. When he returned he brought a message from Mgr. J. Hopfgartner requesting that the Carmelites should establish a convent in Kuching. Once the occupation was over the Sisters set about accomplishing this and a convent was opened there in 1948. Both the Jesselton and Kuching convents did so well that today there are few non-Bornean Sisters in either and in 1969 the Kota Kinabalu (formerly Jesselton) community was able to send enough Sisters to make a third Carmelite foundation in Guam.

(iv)

It is often difficult even for a well instructed Catholic to understand the exact status of a Brother in the Church. On the one hand there are Brothers like the Brothers Hospitaliers of St. John or the De La Salle Brothers, generally highly trained in medical or educational sciences, and on the other there are the simple laybrothers who clean the Church and work in the kitchen. Even in the same relgious institute there may be a wide variety and range of tasks and offices open to the Brother. During most of the period covered by this study there was a marked difference between the Mill Hill Priest Missionaries and the Mill Hill Brother Missionaries. The rule for the Mill Hill Brother Missionary states simply that the Brother must assist the priest in his work, but does not specify exactly the type of assistence required. The position of the Brothers has normally been subordinate to that of the priests, but at different times the Brothers have exercised various functions.

Fr. Jackson stressed always that the Brother was the cooperater with the priest in the work of the mission and repeatedly remonstrated with priests, especially at Kanowit, who treated the Brothers as mission servants. He gave instructions that they were to be employed in the schools and in some of these they taught carpentry and gardening, but the priests never entrusted them with any other school work, as they

valued them more as builders and farm managers.[35] They supervised the building of mission stations and churches and tried to set up the farms that were expected to support and finance the mission work of the future. In the earliest days it was customary to appoint one Brother to each station and it seems that the Brothers approved of this arrangement. Only one, Bro. James, did not like it. He claimed that the Fathers were far too bossy and in 1892 he left the mission and the Society to seek another religious institute that was more democratic.[36] There is no record that he found one. By the 1930s the Brothers worked together as teams that moved from mission station to mission station to attend to any building that was necessary.[37] The only buildings they put up which still stand are the church at Kudat and the great stone church at Penampang. After the Japanese occupation the Brothers in North Borneo continued to work in teams, geared towards agricultural education. The Vicariate of Miri employed them, one Brother to a mission station, in tasks of building, agricultural education and social work. There is little record of the day to day activities of the Mill Hill Brothers and their changing roles over the period of this study. What has just been stated has been adduced from statements in correspondence, from the recollections of retired Brothers and from the experience of changes that have occurred in one's own life time.

Chapter Five of this study records that Fr. Jackson hoped to gain the services of a congregation of teaching Brothers who would take charge of mission secondary education. The first indication that efforts had been made to gain such services is in a letter of 26 May 1916 from Fr. J. Hopfgartner to Mgr. Dunn arguing that because of the difficulties experienced previously in trying to obtain the services of teaching Brothers two Fathers should be set aside for full time school work.[38] Mgr. Dunn was on home leave in 1924 and visited St. Mary's Marino, Dublin, to enlist the aid of the Irish Christian Brothers, but the commitments of the Brothers in other areas were too heavy to permit them to come to Borneo.[39] After the Japanese occupation fresh efforts were made to obtain the services of a number of teaching congregations and for some time it seemed likely that the mission would obtain help from the Australian Province of the De La Salle Brothers. When negotiations for this help came to nothing it looked as though the mission would have to accept another failure, but

35. SWA-3-Stall v.1 p. 66.
36. SWA-3-Staal v.2 pp. 28,46,47,57.
37. Interviews with Bros. Pius and Alexander, Dec. 1978 and March 1979.
38. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 162.
39. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p. 43.

disaster in the Singapore and Malayan sections of the De La Salle Brothers, known officially as the District of Penang, led to unexpected help for Borneo. This district lost a good many Brothers during the Japanese occupation and the end of hostilities faced it with large commitments and few Brothers to fulfil them. A world wide appeal was made to the other Provinces and the benefits the District gained from the very generous response of the Irish Province made it possible to consider extending its work to Borneo. January 1950 saw the arrival of the first three Brothers to undertake the management of St. Joseph's School Kuching.[40] In the course the following ten years they were entrusted with responsibility for Sacred Heart School Jesselton, Sacred Heart School Sibu and St. Mary's School Sandakan. Wherever they went they built on the foundations laid by the Fathers and brought about great improvements in both the quality of education provided and the expansion of school facilities. It was not until 1976, however, that they were able to move into the interior and take over the management of St. Martin's School Tambunan.

The Sarawak Catholic mission has always felt that it has had only a peripheral influence on the Chinese community and a number of factors, some of them outside the control of the mission, have contributed to this state of affairs. Mgr. Dunn argued in 1911 that the Chinese hesitated to become Catholics because of their fear of the Tongs.[41] It also happened that, once a reasonable number of Chinese Catholics had been gathered together, permanent growth was hindered by the high mobility of the Chinese population.[42] This was particularly noticeable in the 1920s and 1930s when trade slumps and crop failures made whole communities of Chinese return to China or go elsewhere in South East Asia in search of work.[43] There was thus an impermanence about the mission's work among the Chinese which rendered long term planning very difficult. The rise of Communist China brought a stability to the Chinese Community in Borneo which had not existed previously. It also brought to the mission the services of priests of the Chinese diaspora, mentioned already in Chapter Two. This stability underlined a weakness in the missions' approach to the Chinese, which was especially noticeable in education.

40. Interviews with De La Salle Brothers in Sarawak and Sabah, Jan.-June 1978 and SWA-8-10, Diary of St. Joseph's School Kuching.
41. SWA-2-36. Mgr. Dunn to President of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, 26 Aug. 1911.
42. For more detailed analysis see Lee Y.L., Population and Settlement in Sarawak (Singapore, 1970).
43. SWA-2-46, Mgr. Dunn to President of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, September 1922. He reports large emigration of Chinese Catholics as a result of failures in Rubber and Pepper.

Its influence tended to be restricted to Chinese gardeners and to those Chinese who valued English education, but it was negligible among those Chinese who had been educated in their own language. The work of the Diaspora priests contributed to an improvement in this situation, but showed that the mission had been remiss in ignoring this very large section of the Chinese community. In order to correct this deficiency the Marist Brothers were invited to establish Chinese medium schools in Sarawak and they set up two highschools, one at Penrissen and the other at Sibu.[44] Their work has not had the strong influence that was expected. For they arrived at a time of educational instability, their school at Penrissen had to close for lack of support and their Sibu school survived only by providing both English and Chinese medium secondary education. The inspiration that led to the arrival of the Marists in Sarawak was sound enough, but they arrived too late to be really effective.

(v)

The Mill Hill Missionaries have been criticised for their failure to establish a congregation of indigenous Brothers to carry on the same work as had been done by the Mill Hill Brothers in Borneo. Bishop Simon Fung has made some efforts to supply this deficiency, but his initiatives in this direction fall outside the time limits of this study and, in any case, have not attained any notable success. In fairness to the Mill Hill Missionaries it must be noted that their main concern has been the establishment of a viable indigenous diocesan clergy. The Brothers have never been regarded as separate from the Fathers in the Society and concern for the general policy, which excluded Borneans from membership, directed the minds of the missionaries away from the possibility of establishing an indigenous congregation of Brothers. It may be noted in passing that the Mill Hill Missionaries have provided for such a foundation in only one country, Kenya.[45] It can be noted too that the Marist Brothers were late arrivals in Borneo and circumstances have prevented their work from living up to its original promise. In their situation the question of recruitment of indigenous personnel did not arise.

The De La Salle Brothers have always aimed at replacing themselves with indigenous recruits and it can be said that they have approached this aim in two ways. The first has been the standard De La Salle

44. Interviews with the Marist Brothers, Sibu, February 1978.
45. The Brothers referred to have their headquarters in Mukumu, Kenya.

approach known as the Benildus Society, which takes its name from the French De La Salle Brother Benilde, born Pierre Romancon at Thuret in 1805 and beatified by Pope Pius XII on 1 April 1948. During the last twenty years of his life Blessed Benilde was headmaster and founder of the De La Salle school at Saugues and, while he was at this school, it was noted that a very large number of boys chose to become De La Salle Brothers, priests and religious. He has been chosen, therefore, by the Brothers as the special patron of vocations and each school has its vocations club known as the Benildus Society. One or two priests and Brothers from Borneo have discovered their vocations through the Benildus Societies, but these societies have not yet achieved any notable results in Borneo.

Some of the Brothers have judged that part of the reason for this lack of success can be traced to the rigour and rigidity of the training programmes of the novitiate and juniorate of the congregation in Penang. With the approval of their superiors they have therefore introduced new approaches to training that are much more in keeping with the demands and requirements of Borneo. The purpose of this change is not an attempt to mitigate the severity of the De La Salle rule, but aims to make the transition into the life of rigorous discipline required by the congregation a more gentle and gradual process. It has been applied with some success in Sabah, but has not yet been adopted in Sarawak.

The establishment of local congregations of women religious has attained greater success. The influence of the encyclical Rerum Ecclesiae (1926) towards the introduction of contemplative religious communities into mission countries has been noted already. Chapter Four of this study will illustrate the contribution this encyclical has made to the development of the notion of indigenization in the Church and its importance as a milestone in missiological thinking. It may be noted here that the beginnings of the efforts to establish indigenous congregations of Sisters in Borneo are contemporaneous with the publication of this encyclical.

The first stirrings towards the establishment of such a congregation came in Sarawak from Sr. Francis who began in 1926 by gathering a few interested girls.[46] At first she continued with her normal work, but the superior, Sr. Helen, recognized the importance of her work with the group of girls and the special gift she had for being a mistress of novices. It was not clear at first that she had the task of

46. SWA-4-Steel v.4 p. 51.

establishing a congregation that would be completely separate from the White Sisters, but experience taught her that the best approach to her task would be to establish a separate congregation that would be under the supervision of the White Sisters until it could stand on its own. The congregation was named the Little Sisters of Sarawak. There was little distinction in the work that was expected of the Little Sisters and the White Sisters, but there well small differences in matters of dress. The White Sisters wore a broad wimple and full sleeves that permitted the hands to be demurely hidden. The Little Sisters on the other hand wore a narrow wimple and narrow rucked sleeves. Even the most observant outsider might be aware that there was a subtle difference in dress, but not sufficient to be of any consequence. Yet the sisters took these differences seriously and, though some people have interpreted the differences to indicate that the White Sisters regarded the Little Sisters as inferior, the real motivation was a simple affirmation that they wer separate.[47] In the 1920s it was thought that each separate congregation of Sisters must have a very distinctive habit. There is a limited scope for variation in a Sister's dress and it was not until after Vatican II that the Church allowed the Sisters to dress sensibly and freed them from the nonsenical fripperies that had been promoted previously in the interests of distinctiveness of habit. It cannot be denied, however, that the Little Sisters felt inferior. As soon as the reforms of Vatican II permitted it they dropped the word "Little" from their title and designated themselves the "Sisters of Sarawak". There are few records concerning the development of the Little Sisters and few details are known about their early days. The annual reports to Propaganda state simply that the indigenous congregation of Sisters continues to make good progress. By the beginning of the Japanese occupation, however, we find that they had been working hand in hand with the White Sisters at Mukah, Sibu and Kanowit.

In North Borneo, meanwhile, similar moves towards the establishment of an indigenous sisterhood wer being made. The first important difference between the Sarawak and North Borneo foundations was that in Sarawak initiatives came from the White Sisters whereas in North Borneo the initiatives came from the Prefect Apostolic, Mgr. Wachter. When the first girls from North Borneo asked to be admitted to the religious life, Mgr. Wachter sent them to Sarawak to be trained alongside the Little Sisters. He seems to have been under the impression that, as soon as they were trained and professed, they would return to

47. Interview with Sr. Rose, Novem er 1979.

North Borneo to set up a new congregation. Not unnaturally, Sr. Francis would not countenance this, nor could any canon lawyer disagree with her. By 1930, when the First North Borneo Sisters were at work in Sarawak, he had changed his tactics. He wrote to Fr. C. Schut, the Mill Hill procurator in Rome, to inquire how he sould go about establishing a religious congregation in his Prefecture. Fr. Schut wrote several letters full of good advice, but not all of it was followed by Mgr. Wachter. At the same time he asked Sr. Rose to become the mistress of novices for the new congregation. In this choice we note a second point of difference between the North Borneo and Sarawak foundations. Sr. Francis saw the Little Sisters as an extension of the White Sisters, trained and inspired by the rule of the third order regular of St. Francis, whereas Mgr. Wachter and Sr. Rose saw the North Borneo congregation as a completely separate institute. Sr. Rose's preferences mentioned above meant that the North Borneo congregation was trained in the spirit of the Carmelite rule, although it was in fact constituted a third order of St. Francis. The first postulants were actually trained in two groups, one in Sandakan under Sr. Rose, and the other in Limbahau under Sr. Eugenie. It is difficult to understand why Mgr. Wachter chose these two sisters of such different character to be co-foundresses of the new congregation. The Sisters they trained were called the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception. They wore as part of their habit a blue scapular that has earned them the affectionate nickname "The Blue Sisters", sometimes abbreviated as "The Blues". A third point of difference between the little Sisters and the Blue Sisters was in their foundation. The Little sisters were clearly and definitely under the supervision of the White Sisters. The White Sisters considered that the Blue Sisters were also under their supervision; but the intention of Mgr. Wachter seems to have been that the White Sisters were only assistants to the foundation of a diocesan congregation under the supervision of the Bishop or Prefect. By an unfortunate error Mgr. Wachter forgot to issue the Blue Sisters with an official document of erection, an omission that was to cause a good deal of trouble some ten years after the original foundation.[48]

When the European missionaries were interned in May 1942 there were five convents of indigenous Sisters in Borneo. The Blue Sisters were at Sandakan and Limbahau and the Little Sisters were at Sibu, Mukah and Kanowit. Almost immediately after the Japanese occupation

48. The only docuemnt that survives is AF N.Prot 11483/38, 16 June 1936, a copy of Mgr. Wachter's approval of the constitutions of the Blue Sisters.

began, Fr. J. Chin brought the Mukah Sisters to Sibu, but soon both they and the Sibu Sisters had to move to the school at Sungei Dasan, as they were being pestered by the Japanese soldiers. The Sisters at Kanowit were thought to be safer than anywhere else and they remained there for the duration of the occupation.[49] At Sandakan the Blue Sisters worked for a time with Fr. A. Paulmichl, but when Fr. Paulmichl was expelled to Jesselton the Sisters were evicted from the convent and had to seek sanctuary with a Chinese family at Mile 5, Labuk Road. Sandakan sources indicate that they remained there until the end of the occupation, but Fr. Verhoeven reports that they managed to join up with the other Sisters at Limbahau sometime in 1944.[50] The opportunities the Sisters had for work were meager indeed, but they managed to stay together and live faithfully according to the rule they had learned from the White Sisters.

After the return of the European missionaries in 1946 the Little Sisters returned to their pre-1942 status under the guardianship of Sr. Francis, but it was soon recognized that the experience of the occupation had matured the community to a degree that years of supervision and guidance could never have achieved. Sr. Francis realized that her work was done and returned to retire in England in 1950. From that time the Little Sisters lived and worked on their own and they began also a gradual take-over of sections of the work that had been handled previously by the White Sisters alone.

The untying of the apron strings in North Borneo was a much more painful experience. As soon as Sr. Rose returned from the INTERNMENT camp she went immediately to Limbahau to take up her previous position as director of the Blue Sisters. The Blue Sisters, conscious that during the previous three years they had managed quite nicely on their own, resented the return to submission, but they conformed. The situation could not be allowed to continue without some sort of fundamental change and when such change was not forthcoming the Blue Sisters complained.

Mgr. J. Buis had been appointed Prefect Apostolic of North Borneo and, though he had taken up his appointment officially, he had not ACTually arrived in North Borneo when the complaint of the Blue Sisters was heard. Fr. McCarthy, the acting Prefect, had to do something about the problem in Limbahau and decided to dismiss Sr. Rose and appoint one of the Blue Sisters superior. The White Sisters felt that they had been slighted and complained to Mgr. Buis as soon as he arrived in

49. SWA-1-43 to 45, Fr. J. Chin's report to Mill Hill, 27 Feb. 1946
50. SBA-6-159, Fr. Verhoeven's report to Propaganda, 30 Aug. 1946.

Jesselton. His examination of the problem revealed the absence of the all important document of erection referred to above. This meant that the Blue Sisters lacked canonical status in the Church and that the claim by the White Sisters that they had supervision over them was based on a misapprehension. It looked as though a very awkward canonical battle might ensue.The White Sisters engaged Fr. S. Masserei D.C.L. as counsel and Mgr. Buis enlisted Fr. J. Clementi D.C.L. to act for the Prefecture. At the same time Mgr. Buis was in contact with Mgr. T. v. Valenberg of Pontianak and the Apostolic Nuncinture in Djakarta to try to find a way out.[51] Fr. Clementi proposed that the new congregations predicament was analagous to that of a putative marriage, i.e. a marriage contracted in good faith by parties who are unaware of an impediment that renders the marriage null and void. One of the approaches to regularizing such marriages is to grant a dispensation from the impediment with retroactive effect, an approach known technically as a sanatio in radice. Fr. Clementi suggested therefore that a similar solution might be applied to the problem of the Blue Sisters.[52] The weakness of this solution is that it would have left open the whole question of supervision. Were the White Sisters in charge or was the Prefect responsible? Mgr. Buis finally decided not to take the advice of Fr. Clementi, but to follow the Djakarta canonists and re-establish the congregation as if it had never existed, a solution that meant that all the Sisters who had been previously professed had to repeat their novitiate training. Once this decision had been made, a choice had to be made of suitable tutors for the newly constituted Blue Sisters. For some time Mgr. Buis sought to find sisters from outside Borneo to take up this task, but none was willing to take it up. The White Sisters felt very sore about the whole matter and for another congregation to step into the breach might have been interpreted as a public rebuke to them. They had committed no fault and it would have been invidious to place them in a publicly blameworthy position because of the well intentioned error of omission by Mgr. Wachter. In the end Mgr. Buis decided personally to be responsible and thus achieved a regularization of the canonical position of the Blue Sisters, avoiding at the same time any public acrimony or scandal.[53]

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51. Inderview with Bishop Buis, December 1978.
52. Interview with Fr. J. Clementi, March 1979.
53. The impression created by the interviews, from which this information has been gathered, is that these events took place between 1947 and 1950. Yet the official correspondence that survives is dated February 1955. SBA-7-397. The letters of Fr. C. Schut are dated 1930, permission to establish the congregation was on 5 Nov. 1934 and approval of the constitutions 16 June 1936. SBA-7-398.

The next fifteen years saw a very gradual expansion of the work of the Blue Sisters and the Little Sisters. By the beginning of the 1970s the White Sisters were at Kota Kinabalu, PENAMPANG, SANDAKAN, Tobo-Tambunan, Tawau and Labuan in Sabah, at Kuching, Sibu and Kanowit in Sarawak and at Seria in Brunei. All the other convents were staffed by indigenous Sisters. As the numbers of White Sisters became depleted by the Mustapha expulsions the Blue Sisters moved in to take over their work and, with the exception of medical work, they were able to handle the take-overs with smoothness and efficiency. The take-over of the Convents in Sarawak happened in a way that has led the uninformed to level criticism against the White Sisters.

1968 to 1972 were difficult years for the White Sisters in Borneo. The communist emergency in Sarawak put such restraints on the Sisters in Kanowit that the hospital lacked patients and the Sisters could not go out to the longhouses to look after the sick. There was not enough work for them to do and the future looked black. Then came the expulsions from Sabah and their future looked even more uncertain. In early 1972 there occurred in Sibu a communist youth action in which all public buildings were daubed with communist slogans during one particular night. The Security forces had been warned about this and had guards posted around all the main public buildings, but the action went ahead as planned. Two young men with the task of daubing the convent had difficulty negotiating the perimeter fence and were shot dead by the security forces. The next day, Sr. Cecily, principal of the school received a letter informing her that she was to be murdered in reprisal for the deaths of the two young men. The local superior withdrew her from Sibu immediately and had her sent home to England for further assignement. Circumstances became steadily more difficult and the Superior General of the White Sisters in England decided that the Sisters in Borneo were in an impossible situation. She ordered the Sisters in Sarawak to hand over their convents to the Little Sisters and return to England for re-assignment. It might be said with hindsight that the superior acted hastily, but it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise in the context of the information she had at the time.[54]

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54. Interview with Sr. Germaine, ex-Sabah missionary and Secretary General to the FRANCISCAN Missionary Sisters of St. Joseph, Nov. 1980. It has proved impossible to include here accounts of the work of the Daughters of St. Paul in Sabah or the Salvatorian Sisters in Sarawak Their work has had less general impact on the mission during the period of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SELF-RELIANT CHURCH

If the Church were a static organization that would be measured by fixed scales of value it might be possible to make straightforward completely unambiguous and simple statements assessing its development. There are, however, a number of considerations which tend to complicate any evaluation of its progress and it is necessary to define which of these are relevant and which are capable of being treated historically. They may be divided loosely into those concerning structure, expectation and criteria of value. These divisions are described as loose, not because they lack scientific rigour, but because they all react simultaneously in combinations that fluctuate in balance of importance.

Fundamental to any Catholic concept of Church are the doctrines of the Mystical Body of Christ and the Communion of Saints. The working out of these concepts is not, however, the concern of this study. Rather it is with the models of Church that have been experienced in the history of Borneo. It will be seen that that there have been three different models of Church and, though all have had their champions throughout the period covered by this study, each has had greater importance at different periods. From 1880 until about 1925 the model was one of the Church as the medium of salvation for the heathen. From 1925 to 1965 the model was hierarchical and progress was measured by the realization of Western Church structures in the local Church. The third model is one that has sprung largely from the Second Vatican Council and sees the Church as the People of God and the Community of the Faithful.

A second set of defining factors is based on the concept of expectation. In the first place, what did priests and missionaries expect to achieve in their work? Obviously the different models of Church in vogue at a particular time, salvific, hierarchic or communal, had a strong influence on the choice of methods and aims. It is important, however, that we should see the changes in method and approaches as a progress and development, not as catalysts. For, as W. Conley illustrates in his study of the Kenyahs,[1] there is always in religion a reaction between conservative and progressive forces which act as brakes on one another and slow up the change from one method to another. A

1. W.Conley, The Kalimantan Kenyah. A Study of Tribal Conversion in Terms of Dynamic Cultural Themes (Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, U.S.A., 1976)

second question of expectation concerns the hopes of the people of Borneo. What were the expectations of those who were converted? How did they envisage their role in the Church? Can we discern in the events described any development in Christian maturity that can be defined as the sort of self-reliance that gives the modern Church in Borneo a sense of self-identity and assurance?

The criteria of value chosen in this study are predominantly sociological. For these are more easily handled from a historical standpoint. There are nevertheless two religious axioms which are fundamental and should not be ignored. The first is the acceptance of divine providence. No one can understand a Catholic mission unless he takes account of the missionary belief that both success and failure are God's gifts. How the missionary combines this attitude with a certain aggressiveness in religious propaganda is a matter of some concern to the theologian and religious psychologist, but it is important to the historian only as a fundamental pattern of behaviour that must be accepted if one is to understand the activities of the missionary. A second axiom concerns a difference in attitudes to Baptism. A basic idea in Catholicism is that the Christian is the Homo Viator, the pilgrim, the one who journeys towards God. Baptism is the first step on this journey and is seen as the first affirmation of faith. A number of non-Catholic Christian denominations see Baptism as a final affirmation of faith. In the context of this difference, it seems irrelevant to a Catholic to ask the question — How strong are a converts convictions? The question is rather — How strong is the convert's allegiance to the Church? Conversion is an act of the will and may or may not be accompanied by a strong informed intellectual grasp of the doctrines of the Church.

Quite apart from these axioms, there remains the need to discuss the nature of the criteria we use. When one asks the questions, why the Church is established, why people become Catholics, why the Church becomes strong in one area and not in another, it soon becomes obvious that absolute rules cannot be formulated. It becomes obvious too that the standard logics of Aristotle and of Mathematics have little to te teach us. An examination of the logic of statistics shows us that the laws of probability fail to provide a full explanation of the facts and it seems that a new logic is demanded, one that might DESCRIBE how events come about in mission history. This logic is described as a logic of polarity in so far as its concern is to explain how and why people are attracted to the Church. It has three basic axioms : 1)People are

attracted to the Church because of a combination of personal and social considerations. 2) The combination of such considerations is relative, not absolute. 3) The strength of conviction necessary to sustain conversion depends on personal and social needs.

These considerations are a necessary backdrop to the events recounted in this chapter, but our aims are illustrative rather than argumentative and the underlying principles stated above are kept as implicit as possible. For the sake of tidiness the events will be gathered together in so far as they are relevant to the three models of Church that we have just discussed, the salvific, the hierarchic and the communal.

(ii)

The statement made above concerning the periods during which the various models of Church held prominence is correct in a theoretical sense, but it must take note of the fact that all these three models or elements of them existed simultaneously during the whole period which we discuss. This is particularly true of the salvific model, which has been described by some as Sacramental Catholicism. In the earliest days of the mission it found its expression in the satisfaction missionaries gained simply by administering the sacrament of Baptism to the dying. At that time it was for many the only measure of success. In later years it is exemplified by priests and missionaries who see their function in the community simply as providers of Mass and the sacraments. Yet to be understood sympathetically it must be seen not only as setting people on the road to heaven through the waters of Baptism, but also in its contribution to the growth of the numbers of Catholics in the country.

Fr. Jackson stated in his 1888 report on the state of the mission that, when the Fathers arrived in Borneo, there were twenty nominally Catholic Chinese and Filipinos in Sarawak and Labuan;[2] we can add to their number the only two known European Catholics, F. . Witti, spoken of in Chapter Two and Captain W.H. Rodway.[3] By 1888 the number of Catholics was 500, spread over eight mission stations at Kuching, Kanowit, the Singhi, Labuan, Sandakan, Paper, Bundu Kuala Penyu and Putatan.[4] The 1891 report states that this number had increased to 761

2. St. Joseph's Advocate, v.2 no.1 (1888), pp. 28-30.
3. W.H. Rodway was an officer in the Sarawak Militia, son of the Mrs. E. Rodway, mentioned in Chapter One.
4. SWA-1-3.

and two years later it was 1,007. The 1897 Provincial Chapter informs us that by that time there were 1,566 Catholics in the whole of the section of Borneo that was the responsibility of the Mill Hill Missionaries.[5] In some stations like Labuan and Sandakan the numbers were very small indeed and increased at a slow pace. In others, increases were relatively large and sudden. In 1889, for example, there were only eight Catholics in Papar, but by 1891 this number had jumped to 102.[6]

Table 2 is a tabulation of the information contained in the St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society Annual Reports (1893-1935) and gives some idea of the pattern of expansion.[7] Table 3 is a bar graph of the Catholic population expansion as listed in these reports and illustrates visually its dramatic nature. Table 2 column 2 is reported as an indication of the increase from natural population growth and to make this column more easily understandable these figures are translated in column 3 into percentages of the currently reported Catholic population statistic. The 1917 and 1918 figures are so atypical that the writer feels constrained to question their accuracy. The remaining figures show a plausible consistency, but they are a little high to be explained by natural population growth. There are three possible explanations for this. The first is that a large proportion of the adult converts came from the 18 to 25 years of age group, just embarking on married life. The rate of natural increase from this section of any community is bound to be higher than the norm. Secondly, it was customary in the case of older convert couples to baptize the parents and all their children together. An additional explanation may be suggested in respect of high infant mortality rates, but we do not know the number of children to pagan parents who were baptized in danger of death. A careful examination of the figures in column 8 leads us to question the 1902 -13%, the 1906 -11.5%, the 1917 -2.5%, the 1922 zero growth and the 1933 Sarawak -1,4%. Consistent with the remarks made above in reference to the 1917 columns 2 and 3, the 1917 -2,5% may be rejected. This permits us to relate the remaining figures to a factor that has had a substantial influence of Catholic population figures, but which is not mentioned in Table 2. This is immigration

5. SWA-10-1 to 12, First Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, Nov., 1897.
6. SWA-1-4.
7. These reports were published yearly as supplements to St. Joseph's Advocate and were issued generally in February or March of the year following the year of report. The reason why they are discontinued in 1936 is that in that year all Mill Hill Missions propaganda in England was transferred to the responsibility of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.

TABLE 2

1 Year	2 Baptisms of children	3 2 as % of 7	4 Baptisms of adults	5 4 as % 7	6 Deathbed baptisms	7 Catholic population	8 % increase
1893	95		108			1,007	
1895	113		94				
1896	102		82				
1897	144		124				
1898	86		112				
1899	88		127				
1900	75	4.5	166	10		1,650	
1901	*(210)					1,790	8.5
1902	104	6.7	172	11		1,552	-13.3
1903	*(435)				149	2,141	38
1904	148	6.1	182	7.6	100	2,400	12.1
1905	84	3.4	207	8.5	149	2,446	1.9
1906	61	2.8	187	8.5	167	2,190	-11.5
1907	108	4.7	192	8.3	167	2,307	5.3
1908	137	5.8	173	7.3	57	2,379	3.1
1909	Figures not available.						
1910	134	5.3	113	4.4	132	2,543	3.5
1911	206	7.3	90	3.2	117	2,831	11.3
1912	181	6	157	5.2	113	3,017	6.6
1913	196	6.3	132	4.2	101	3,109	3.1
1914	210	6.3	98	2.9	147	3,329	7.1
1915	174	4.7	196	5.3	135	3,729	12
1916	208	4.9	180	4.2	141	4,253	14.1
1917	341	8.2	207	5	173	4,147	- 2.5
1918	467	9.9	369	7.8	191	4,724	14.4
1919	300	6	227	4.5	222	5,001	5.9
1920	290	5.3	294	5.4	197	5,432	8.6
1921	318	5.3	149	2.5	177	6,062	11.6
1922	379	6.3	200	3.3	220	6,062	zero
1923	358	5.2	338	4.9	241	6,956	14.7
1924	Figures not available						
1925	520	6.7	205	2.6	91	7,759	11.5
1926	356	4.2	246	2.9	105	8,405	8.5

* no break-down of figures is available.

TABLE 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1927	S.214	4.7	165	3.6	116	4,528	
	N.B.213	5.3	111	2.4	18	4,593	
1928	S.255	5.1	194	3.9	150	5,037	11.2
	N.B.221	4.4	174	3.5	36	5,008	9
1929	S.307	5.7	267	4.9	147	5,403	7.3
	N.B.245	4.5	158	2.9	49	5,492	9.7
1930	S.318	5.5	248	4.3	109	5,754	6.5
	N.B.301	4.9	174	2.9	39	6,100	11.1
1931	S.306	4.9	200	3.2	154	6,332	10.1
	N.B.298	4.4	197	2.9	101	6,744	10.6
1932	S.297	4.4	397	5.9	175	6.718	6.1
	N.B.314	4.3	273	3.8	118	7,260	7.7
1933	S.331	5	221	3.3	193	6,625	- 1.4
	N.B.357	4.6	259	3.4	171	7,721	6.3
1934	S.383	5.4	173	2.5	176	7,064	6.6
	N.B.385	4.6	260	3.2	152	8,217	6.4
1935	S.464	6.3	97	1.3	187	7,409	4.9
	N.B.378	4.3	209	2.4	170	8,699	5.9

Between 1900 and 1935 the gross increase in Catholic population was 976%.
In 1976 the official figures for the Catholic population of Malaysian Borneo and Brunei were : Archdiocese of Kuching - 90,000, Diocese of Miri - 40,000 and Diocese of Kota Kinabalu - 110,000, making a total of 240,000. This implies a gross increase from 1935 to 1976 of 1,490%.

Bar Graph Depicting the Growth of Malaysian Borneo Catholic Population 1893 - 1935

Scale - . . = 1,000, drawn to the nearest 200.

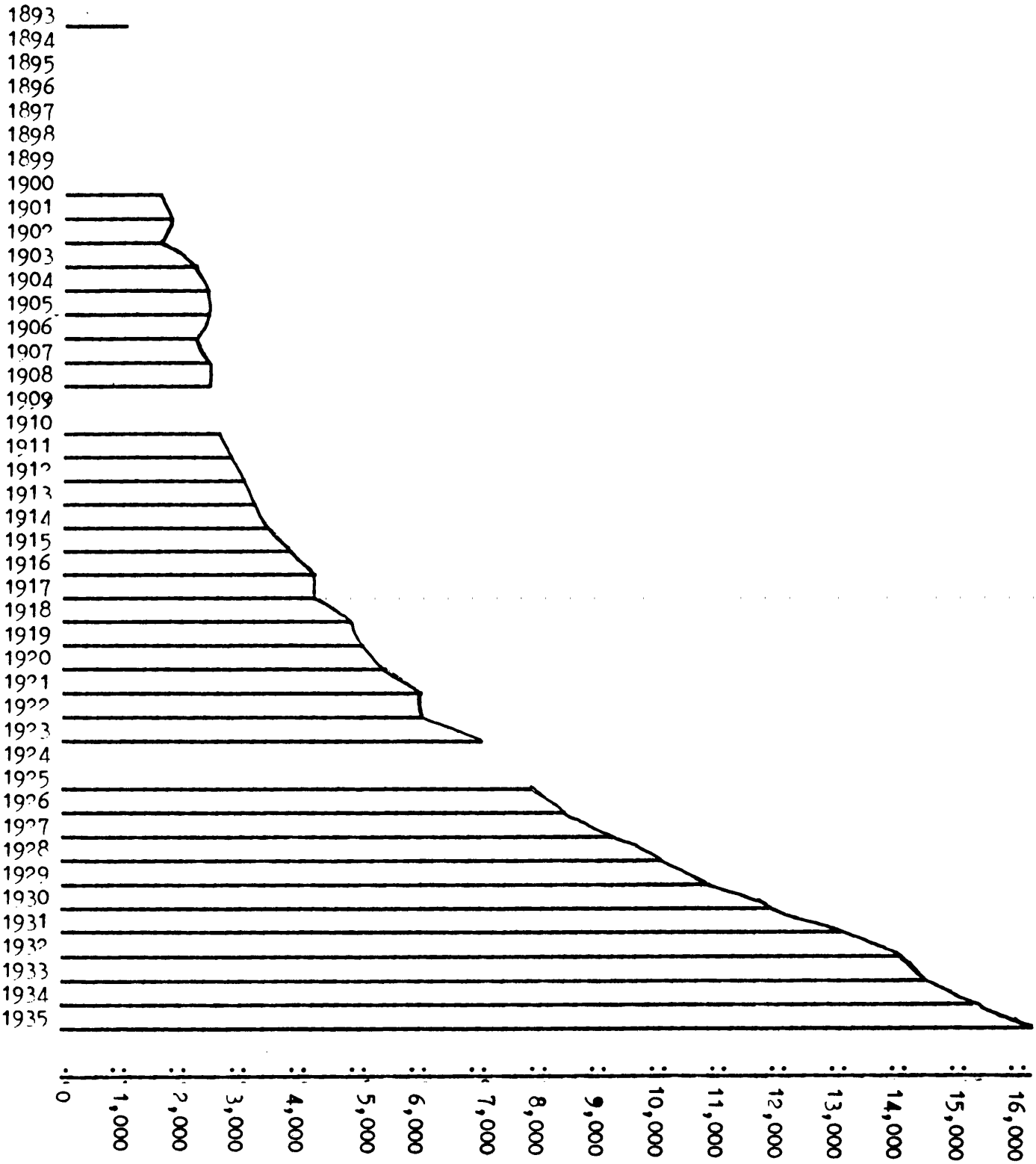

TABLE 3

and emigration of Filipinos, Chinese and Indians, who came to Borneo for refuge or for work. The first significant Filipino influence on Borneo Catholic population came with the refugees from the Philippines civil disturbances of the late 1890s. When the Americans brought control and stability to the Philippines in the early 1900s it is possible that Borneo's Filipino refugees began to return home and this could have contributed to the 1902 and 1906 markedly negative growth in the Borneo Catholic community. The Chinese and Tamils formed a large proportion of the immigrant labour population. 1922 was a year of failure for the Sarawak rubber and pepper markets and Mgr. Dunn reports significant Catholic Chinese emigration as a result of this. 1933 was also a year of acute economic depression and a time of high emigration.

In the context of the salvific model of the Church the statistics of death bed baptisms are significant, especially if it is noted that for the period reported the total is more than five and a half thousand. To those who would see the function of the Church simply to see people off to heaven these are most gratifying results. They are also a positive indication of the effectiveness of the Church's evangelization in that people who ask for baptism on their death bed can be considered to have belonged to the Church, even though they could never be reported as full members on any statistical report

The reason why Table 2 is not extended into the post war period is that the colonial period was a time of large movements of people from the Philippines, Timor, Kerala and Ceylon in search of work. These countries have large Catholic populations and the movements of their citizens in and out of Borneo has tended to reduce the value of statistics that are based on numbers of baptisms alone. The overal trends that are indicated in Table 2 are not altered in the post-war statistics, but are indeed accentuated. The picture is one of extended periods where significant, but only moderate increases can be noted and these periods are punctuated by sudden short periods of large expansion.

To find out more clearly how these trends developed the writer conducted a series of statistical checks on Borneo baptismal registers. These investigations revealed a distinct difference in the frequency distributions of baptisms in predominantly Chinese and predominantly indigenous stations. The Chinese showed a steady increase that can be explained partly by natural growth, partly by conversions related to marriage and partly by straightforward conversions. What was striking in the survey of indigenous stations was the occurrence of sudden bulges in the statistics. These happen generally between eighteen and

twenty five years after the initiation of mission work in a particular area and are sustained for anything from two to seven years Then the frequency of baptisms levels off to a rate approaching the natural growth level of the local population. A close examination of these bulges indicated that they report invariably a sudden influx of converts from a particular race. We note as examples of this the 1968-75 total number of 2,425 baptisms in Bintulu, of whom 2,057 were Ibans, and the expansion on the Limbang mission where in 1961 the bulge is accounted for by large numbers of Ibans and the 1971 bulge is attributable to large numbers of conversions from the Bisayan race.

It was thought at first that these sudden increasee in the numbers of conversions might somehow be related to the influence of schools. So an abstract was made to ascertain the numbers of primary and secondary school children who were baptized. This search was complicated by the differing conventions in reporting baptism that were used by the stations, but it revealed that the number of school related baptisms was never greater than 14% of the total number of baptisms administered on any mission in any particular year. This observation indicated that that the influence of schools on baptisms was less statistical than had been expected.

After 1963 the numbers of Ibans requesting pre-baptism instruction rose to such heights in some years that the missionaries and catechists found it difficult to handle them. A special explanation for this has been suggested by some who have understood it as a backfire from the heavily pro-Islamic propaganda of the time, which is said to have scared the Ibans into the arms of the Church. This theory has not been tested statistically, but it may be worth noticing that Sukarno's proclamation of the five basic religious principles in Indonesia occasioned just as sudden an expansion of Indonesia's Catholic population.[6] There is ample evidence, however, that sudden statistical bulges in the Catholic population of Borneo have not been restricted to the period following the proclamation of Malaysia. A look at Table 2 indicates that such expansions occurred in 1903, 1904, 1911, 1915,1918, 1921, 1923,1925, 1930,1931. It is necessary to look for some explanation for this phenomenon.

There are three possible explanations that deserve our attention. All of them have differing values given to the school work of the mission. One of them concerns itself with migrating peoples and the

6 M.P.M. Muskens, Partner in Nation Building. The Catholic church in Indonesia .(Aachen, 1979) and Sejarah Geredja Katolik Indonesia (Djakarta, 1974) v.5.

other two are built round historical changes in social structure. It would not be true to say that one explanation is better than another, rather that each is specially apt in relation to one or other set of social circumstances or in respect of one or other of the peoples of Borneo.

An understanding of the effects of migration on conversions in Borneo must take into consideration two different types of migration. The first concerns those individuals and their families who moved from their own district for reasons of employment. A good number of these were well educated and held posts in estates and government service that carried locally a certain social importance. By letting it be known that they were Catholics they helped create the notion among the pagan peoples that Catholicism is socially a very superior type of religion. Some went further than merely admitting they were Catholics and actively proselytized among the native peoples. An example of such a migration was that of the family of Fidelis Tambakau, for many years government clerk and assistant district officer in Pensiangan,[7] but his contribution was parallelled by that of government officers, dressers, teachers and others.

Similar to this type of migration was a special incident in the 1920s. At that time the government of Sarawak was very troubled and concerned about the tribal war that was developing between the Ibans and the Kenyahs. Iban migrations into the Belaga district had been strongly contested by the local Kenyahs, there were many bloody clashes and heads were taken. Part of the peace making approaches made by the Rajah Vyner Brooke was to invite Catholic Ibans from Kanowit to settle at the River Pila in order to police the border between the Kenyah and the Iban and to act as a buffer between the warring factions,[8] This solution did little to bring the Kenyah into the Church, but it deflected the migrations of the Iban towards Bintulu and was a spearhead of Catholic influence in the remote upper Rejang.

Rajah Charles Brooke had hoped that the Catholic mission might persuade the Ibans to settle down to a quieter less warlike existence[9] and its influence on curbing the Iban warlike tendences may be considered substantial.[10] Chapter Five of this study discusses the method by which

7. Reports of the Pensiangan Trips from Keningau Mission, 1955 onwards.
8. Interview with Fr. Bruggeman, Feb. 1979. See, See Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels, p. 264.
9. MHFA-1896-Loose File, C. Brooke to Jackson, 19 July 1896.
10. This influence must be seen in the context of the general Brooke policies in community relations, described in Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels, pp. 283-319.

the mission tried to teach the Iban a more settled less nomadic life. It was unsuccessful in achieving this aim, but gained benefit from its failure. For the Iban tendency to travel became a positive influence for the spread of Catholicism and it was discovered that as soon as the migrant Ibans had settled and built their longhouses in A NEW DISTRICT they would send for the priest to come and bless the house and the crops. In this way the influence of the Catholic mission has followed on the heels of the Iban migrations into the upper Rejang and across country to Tatau, Bintulu, Batu Niah, into the Tinjah and as far afield as Limbang.

After the Second World War the Kadazans of the Tambunan Plain began to experience overcrowding and whole villages uprooted themselves and moved in search of land into the Ulu Ranau, Kota Belud, Bandau and along the Labuk in the direction of Sandakan. Many of the families from these villages were already Catholic and it was not long before they asked the mission to send them priests. Chapter Six records some of the troubles that the mission suffered from the government because of its response to these requests, but a special circumstance in North Borneo held the missionaries in check. For a large number of the migrants from Tambunan went into areas that were restricted to missionaries. Visits might be made into these areas, but no priest was permitted to settle there permanently. One of the benefits the proclamation of Malaysia brought to the Church in North Borneo was the de-restriction of these areas that made it possible between 1963 and 1970 to establish four new stations at Kota Belud, Tandek, Ranau and Telupid. Subsequent to the Mustapha expulsions, three of these stations lost their resident priests, but they remain centres of strong Catholic population and interest.

A curious quality of these migrations is that the requests for priests did not necessarily come from sources that were immediately recognized as Catholic. When, for example, the writer was founding the station at Tandek, the first active response to the mission came from the villages of Kurongkom and Parong, both populated entirely by Dagan migrants from Tambunan. The baptism statistics indicate that missionaries to the Ibans had similar experiences. Interviews with missionaries in Sarawak suggest that one of the reasons for this phenomenon is that many of the longhouses had in them young men who had been to Catholic schools, but had not become Catholics while they were at school. They had retained, however, the Christian principles that had learned there and when age and experience granted them influential positions in longhouse society they brought the whole longhouse along with themselves into the Church. Sabah missionaries have suggested that the Tambunan Migrants were

homesick and experienced the problems of an uprooted people. They welcomed the Church both as a bond with home and as a stabilizing influence on the new communities they strove to set up.

A perhaps minor influence on mission expansion has resulted from the migrations of Kadazans who belonged to such sects as the Seventh Day Adventists. The stock in trade of the preaching of a number of such sects involves fulsome condemnations of Catholicism, which describe the Church as the "Whore of Babylon" and her priests as devils incarnate. Such fulminations engendered a certain curiosity about the Church among the local people and they were pleasantly surprised when they discovered that the priests they met were not ogres at all.[11]

The migration theory may not be used to explain the spread of the Church among the Land Dayaks and the Kenyahs. The Land Dayaks are quieter more stable people than the Iban. The social structure of the Kenyah is more stratified, they enjoy a culture which is more tightly knit and they inhabit a more clearly defined area of the country. Work among the Land Dayaks was started in 1883 and was directed initially at the Singhi and Bau regions, but progress was slow and when work was extended to the Serian disctict in 1922 the establishment of a new station was not so much a sign of success as a provision for the needs of the workers in the Sadong coal fields. Fr. Steel, founder of the Sadong mission, forecast in 1922 that it would take another twenty five years to realize any tangible results among the Serian Dayaks[12] and indeed it was not until the late 1940s that large numbers of them began to be converted. The Marudi mission to the Kenyahs was first opened in 1903 and was welcomed by the Kenyah people. A school was planned and built near Marudi, but it was never opened. For one of the Kenyah elders had a dream which was interpreted as a bad omen and, though everything was ready, nobody could be persuaded to attend the school.[13] A further disaster occurred within a year of the opening when in February 1903 Fr. F. Trompedeller died in Marudi at the very early age of 26 years. Fr. H. Jansens continued to work the area, but he soon moved to Miri and the Marudi mission was not reopened until the early 1930s. Its impact on the Kenyahs was then quite negligible, but in 1948 there was a sudden change of fortune. Kenyahs began to come forward for baptism and the numbers of conversions expanded steadily so that in the 1970s there were four thriving headstations in the Baram district at Marudi, Long Akah, Long San and Long Lama. How can

11. This has been the writer's experience in Tandek between 1963 and 1970.
12. J. Steel, "Notes on the Sadong Mission", unpublished ms. p.22.
13. From Interviews with Catholic priests in the Fourth Division, Sarawak.

these expansions be explained? Why was there such a long delay between the first beginnings and the first notable success?

A common view of the Land Dayaks is that they are a profoundly religious people and intensely conservative.[14] Their religious system is strongly based on the ritual person of the village, known as the menang. To qualify for his position the menang must undergo a long period of apprenticeship during which he learns by rote all the rites and incantations that are expected of him. Mission success among the Land Dayaks demanded that the power of the menang be broken, but there is no record of any outright confrontation between the menang and the priests. The breakdown of their power came about quite gradually and the schools were the unwitting vehicles of its destruction. For the spread of education caught in its net almost all the young men who would have qualified as apprentices to the menang and over a period the number of qualified menang dwindled gradually so that a religious vacuum was created in the Land Dayak community. During the long period of the decline of the menang's power the mission remained close to the people as a sympathetic religious presence and was chosen naturally to fill this vacuum.

The evangelical missionary, C.H. Southwell, explains the sudden willingness of the Kenyahs to embrace Christianity as a movement of divine grace that began unaccountably among the Muruts in the 1930s and spread gradually, but inexorably, across Sarawak and into Kalimantan.[15] Another Evangelical missionary, W. Conley, has done a very thorough study and sees the conversion as a phenomenon in cultural dynamics that involves an almost Hegelian thesis and antithesis of cultural forces.[16] P. Metcalf reports the conversions as a simple historical phenomenon and seems to imply that in their conversion to Christianity the Kenyah showed little discernment. According to his study, the allegiance of a longhouse went to missionary, Evangelical or Catholic, who happened to arrive first.[17] Catholic observers of this phenomenon discern three constituent influences that contributed to its coming about - the Japanese occupation, reforms in traditional Kenyah religion and the influence of education on traditional authority structures in the Kenyah longhouse. Temenggong Aban Lawai Jau reports that the Japanese

14. The explanation that follows is garnered from interviews with Catholic priests in the First Division, Sarawak.
15. Interview with Mr C.H. Southwell at Marudi, May 1979.
16. See note no.1 above.
17. P. Metcalf, "The Baram District, A Survey of Kenyah, Kayan and Penan People", Sarawak Museum Journal (1974), pp. 29-42.

disregard for signs and omens came as a great shock and surprise to the Kenyahs. They had noticed of course that Europeans paid little heed to omens, but had assumed that Europeans possessed a special magic that preserved them from the bad luck that the omens signalled. The Japanese were, however, an Asian people and the fact that they ignored the omens with impunity shook the foundations of Kenyah religion.[18] The Temenggong argues that this led in one short step to the acceptance of Christianity. Catholic observers think that the Temenggong's explanation is over simple and point out that the same circumstances led to the growth among the Kalimantan Kenyah of the cult of Bunan, which came to be known in Sarawak as the Adat Baru. The devotees of the Adat Baru argued that Bunan had freed the Kenyahs from slavery to the omens and they must cast aside their old religion, the Adat Lama, in favour of a new and more democratic religion. This implicit political dimension in the Adat Baru caused great trouble among the more traditional Kenyahs. For Kenya social structure divides the tribe into three rigidly hereditary classes. At the top are the aristocrats who occupy the centre of the longhouse. They are flanked on either side by a middle class who are not slaves, but have very little say in the affairs of the longhouse. At the very extremities of the house live the lowest class with a status that is akin to that of slaves. The attempts by the Bunan cult devotees to alter this structure were resented and this resentment was aggravated by another influence that also tended to undermine the social structure, namely the introduction of schools where all the children of the longhouse were instructed together. Children of the lowest class did just as well in school as did the children of the aristocrats, but, if they were ambitious for social betterment, they had to leave the longhouse. An attraction of Christianity was, therefore, that it was a suitable support and stiffener for the community in a time of social upheaval. Where Catholics had the edge over the more uncompromising Evangelical forms of Christianity was at an economic level. For some of the Evangelical converts refused to countenance the practices of their pagan neighbours and felt constrained to leave the longhouse; but to do this was regarded as a crime, punishable by heavy fines. Each family in a longhouse is responsible for the maintenance of its section and good maintenance of the sections is essential for the safety of the whole structure. When, therefore, a family decided to leave the house for any reason, rows and disturbances were sure to occur, and it says a good

18. Temonggong Aban Lawai Jau, "The Story of the Conversion of the Kenyah", transcribed by Bishop A.D.Galvin in Bulletin, Vicariate of Miri (August, 1972), pp. 5-12.

deal for the convictions of the Evangelical converts that they were willing to brave the social displeasure and pay the fines which were an inevitable result of doing what their religious convictions demanded. Catholics were not required to exercise such heroism and were encouraged instead to lead the pagans into the Church by patience and good neighbourliness. This is perhaps the main reason why many longhouses chose Catholicism in preference to other forms of Christianity. It is likely that a further reason was the deep symbolism of the Catholic liturgy and ritual which seek to baptize the old culture without entirely destroying it.[19]

(iii)

The Muenster and Louvain schools of missiology have been traditional rivals in respect of the definition of the formal object of mission work. Fr. Joseph Schmidlin, representing the Muenster school, taught that the primary aim of missionary work is evangelization and the salvation of souls. Fr. Pierre Charles from Louvain taught that it is the planting of the Church. Pope Benedict XV in his encyclical Maximum Illud (1919) seems to nod approvingly in the direction of the Louvain school,[20] but it was Pope Pius XI who placed papal authority behind its views in Rerum Ecclesiae(1926) and pleaded for a more structured approach in mission endeavours.[21] Chapter Three of this study has illustrated how the ideals of Rerum Ecclesiae were implemented in respect of the promotion and foundation of indigenous religious institutes of both active and contemplative life, but the main thrust of the Pope's plea was for greater awareness and effective action towards the promotion of indigenous clergy and the establishment of dioceses with indigenous bishops.

Rerum Ecclesiae set in train a fundamental reform in missionary law which can only be summarized briefly here. For Pope Pius XI's policy signalled a basic change in the status of missionary institutes. During the pontificate of Pope Gregory XVI (1831-46) it became customary that these institutes were issued with a Ius Commissionis that granted them a territory with full exclusive control of mission work and ecclesiastical jurisdiction therein. It was seen in 1926 that appointments of indigenous bishops could not be made without some alteration in the rights granted by the Ius Commissionis in as far as these rights could

19. From interviews with Catholic priests in the Fourth Division, Sarawak.
20. Pope Benedict XV, "Maximum Illud", Acta Apsotolicae Sedis, v.11 no.13 (1919), pp. 440-55, 30 Nov. 1919.
21. Pope Pius XI, "Rerum Ecclesiae", Acta Apostolicae Sedis v.18 no.3 (1926), pp. 65-83, 28 Feb. 1926.

be unerstood as an effective withdrawal of the power and authority of the indigenous bishops in favour of the missionary institutes. The first attempt to remedy this legal anomaly was an instruction issued by Propaganda in 1929 that attempted to define the norms to be followed in relations between religious superiors and local bishops.[22] This document remains weighted, however, in favour of the missionary institutes.[23] The decrees Christus Dominus[24] and Presbyterorum Ordinis[25] of the Second Vatican Council sought a more accurate definition of the bishops' position, but doubts concerning the Ius Commissionis remained. So Pope Paul VI issued a motu proprio, Ecclesiae Sanctae (1966), that defined a new set of norms, cancelled the 1929 instruction and effectively abolished the Ius Commissionis in all mission territories that were neither Prefectures nor Vicariates.[26]

In 1969 the Congregation for Evangelization of Peoples, as Propaganda had then been re-named, issued a set of instructions concerning the implementation of Ecclesiae Sanctae, which brought to the fore the new missionary concept of the Mandatum or Mandate.[27] In accordance with these instructions, the relations between missionary institutes and local bishops were to be defined by contract and the local bishop could request the congration to issue a Mandate approving the contract and regularizing the position of the missionary institute in the local diocese. To prevent a popular local bishop from having several missionary institutes mandated to his diocese the Mandate could not be granted unless the local bishop had shown that he had consulted the national hierarchy or the episcopal conference to which he belonged.

This brief picture of the legal issues involved runs beyond the limits of this study. For the Borneo dioceses were not erected until 1976 and as Vicariates until that time they fell under the provisions of the Ius Commissionis. Yet the circumstances that led to these developments

22. Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, "Instructio ad Vicarios Praefectosque Apostolicos et ad Superiores Institutorum Quibis a S. Sede Missiones Concreditae Sunt", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.22 no.2 (1930), pp. 111-5, 8 Dec., 1919.
23. S. Masserei, De Missionum Institutione ac de Relationibus inter Superiores Missionum et Sueriores Peligiosos, (Rome. 1940).
24. "Christus Dominus", Sacrum Concilium Oecomenicum Vaticanum II. Constitutiones. Decreta. Declarationes (Vatican, 1966) pp. 277-332. 28 Oct. 1965.
25. "Presbyterorum Ordinis", Ibid., pp. 619-78, 7 Dec. 1965.
26. Pope Paul VI, "Ecclesiae Sanctae", Acta Apsotolicae Sddis, v.48 no.11 (1966), pp. 757-8, 6 Aug. 1966.
27. Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, " Suggested Forms of Contract in Missionary Territories between Residential Bishops, or other Ordinaries, and Mission Institutes", Bibliografia Missionaria, v.33 no. 2 (1969), pp 33-44.

were just as present in Borneo as they were in Africa or India and the uncertainties inherent in these circumstances engendered undercurrents of malaise and lack of assurance in the whole process of developing the local clergy. A further area of uncertainty is the place of the catechist in Church structure and it remains to be seen if the current reforms in canon law will grant to the catechists an official status in the Church. Although at present they are covered by no law of the Church it cannot be denied that they are a very real part of the structure of the Church in Borneo. This section seeks therefore to trace the development of both local clergy and the catechists.

The earliest official indication that Fr. Jackson was considering the education of local priests is in an 1888 letter to Cardinal Simeoni, informing the Cardinal that he had acquired Sir Hugh Low's 33 acre estate in Labuan for $ 2,500.00 and that he intended to use it to set up a large secondary school for boys of different tribes, to build a central headquarters for the mission and to establish a minor seminary.[28] It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of the acquisition of this porperty, but it seems from Fr. Staal's notes that it must have been sometime in 1886.[29] It is certain that Fr. Jackson did not regard this minor seminary as only a pipe dream, for he wrote to Fr. H. Couvreur on 12 July 1887 concerning two boys whom he regarded as suitable candidates for the seminary. He had instructed the Fathers to teach them Latin in preparation for entering the seminary at Penang, but, when he wrote to Bishop Vaughan and Fr. Benoit about the matter, they had replied that the boys should be sent to England instead. Fr. Jackson decided then that he could afford to sent only one to England and he chose Aloysius Liu Choon as the most likely candidate to succeed.[30] Aloysius studied at Freshfield near Liverpool and went on to finish the first two years of the course at Mill Hill, but in 1896 he decided to leave and return to Borneo. There he worked as a mission school teacher until 1901 when he was appointed manager of the Labuan estate.[31] In 1896, another Chinese, Francis Kan Hon, was sent to Penang and completed his academic studies for the priesthood. Mgr. Dunn decided, however, that Francis would not be respected by his own people unless he became better grounded in Chinese studies. So arrangements were made for him to go to Canton for further studies, but Francis decided that he had no vocation and did not wish to be ordained.[32]

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28. MHFA-14-D-16, Fr. Jackson to Cardinal Simeoni, 3 Dec. 1888.
29. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.9.
30. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.101.
31. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p.44.
32. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 59.

The next candidate to present himself was Joseph Chin Ting Huong from Sibu. He was sent to Canton in 1922 to study Chinese and after his return to Sarawak in 1927 he went ot Penang seminary where he was ordained priest on 4 December1931.[33] In 1927 Ignatius Chee Liu went to Singapore minor seminary and from there went to complete the course at Penang. Then he was sent to Canton for Chinese studies, but at Swatow in 1937 he was caught up in the Sino-Japanese war and, when he returned to Sarawak, he had lost all notion of becoming a priest. Instead he married and settled at Pelembang.[34] Of the five pre-1930 candidates only one actually reached the priesthood. We can attribute this small return on so much effort largely to the difficulties that were experienced in providing the candidates with a suitable standard of education.

There had been meanwhile no candidates at all from North Borneo and even in the late 1920s it did not look as if there would be any. Mgr. Wachter felt that a prejudice had been allowed to grow among the local Christians that only white men could be priests and , partly to break down this prejudice, he begged the Vicar Apsotolic of Hong Kong to lend him a Chinese priest for a few years. In 1929 Fr. Joseph Shek was sent to help set up a catechists' training programme. He organized courses at Papar, at Kudat and finally at Jesselton where a house was made available to accomodate the student catechists and he was assisted by Mr. Thomas Lee Sin Sang.[36] At that time Fr. Valentine Weber, Rector of the Sacred Heart Mission , Jesselton, was beginning to show the weakness of his years and Mgr. Wachter decided to send him a young vigorous assistant to try to put some life into the mission. Fr Weber took this appointment as a personal afront, packed his things and moved into the house that had just been vacated by the catechists. There he started a minor seminary and soon had a group of young boys to train. Mgr. Wachter was quite angered by this unlawful establishment, but he shrank from the public humiliation that would have come to Fr. Weber if the venture were closed. Some of the older Fathers thought that this seminary could never succeed, being thus conceived in sin, and it looked as though little benefit would come of it. For,despite Fr. Weber's fascination for the Encyclopedia Britanica,which he had read from beginning to end, he did not put much value on academic studies. He taught the boys Latin and they learned Chinese from Lee Sin Sang. For the rest they did a lot of

33. SWA-4-Steel v.4 pp. 53,98.
34. SWA-4-Steel v.4 p. 33.
35. SBA-4-56 to 80, Wachter Diary passim.
36. Interview with Mr T. Lee Sin Sang, April 1978

gardening and played a good many games.[37] This situation was allowed to continue until 1935 when Fr. F. Sint was put in charge to try to bring some order into the establishment. Despite these unpropitious beginnings, by 1942 North Borneo had three seminarians in major studies at Hong Kong, John Yong, Thomas Sham and Joseph Hiu. These three were ordained priests shortly after the end of the Second World War.

It was some years after the war before the seminary in Jesselton was re-opened, but then the pattern of training was changed. The seminarians attended the Sacred Heart highschool and used the old seminary as a hostel. The Rector supervised their formation and acted as tutor in those subjects that were not handled in the highschool. After Form V they went to Singapore for Form VI education and thence to Penang for the six year Philosophy and Theology course. The time from entry into the minor seminary up to ordination lasted anything from thirteen to fifteen years and the first results of the post-war reopening did not begin to appear until the early 1960s. These results started as a trickle of mostly Chinese, but developed later into a steady stream so that by 1976 more than three quarters of the priests in Sabah were local citizens.

A similar pattern of training was established in Kuching at the same time and, in the early 1960s, also at Miri; but Malaysia developments in education led to the discontinuation of the local minor seminaries. For local sedondary education became more easily available throughout the country and the Malaysian accent in education moved away from the sort of subjects that are considered to be pre-requisites for the study of theology. By 1976 the minor seminary according to the old pattern had become something of an anachronism and resources were transferred to the provision of such post-secondary training as would fit the candidtates for the Penang courses.

The early 1970s was a time when the relevance of the previously accepted priest training was questioned. People began to ask if the professional courses were really suited to the needs of the priest in the parish. They asked themselves too if priests were not being over-educated in the wrong kind of subjects. Previous to 1970 these questions had the aspect of heated and rather donnish after dinner discussion, but they took on a vital urgency when the Sabah expulsions began in 1970. Bishop Galvin of Miri was profoundly shocked by the happenings in Sabah and he began to press for an acceleration of priest training in

37. From interviews with surviving men who were Fr. Weber's seminarians, March and April 1979.

Sarawak.[38] He proposed that the hitherto strictly demanded academic standards might be relaxed for the sake of mature candidates of special merit and he helped set up an experimental seminary in Kuching to find out what could be done in this direction. This seminary lasted only for five years and has been the subject of much controversy, but it produced five much needed priests for Sarawak and as a temporary expedient it may be considered to have been a success.[39]

The early correspondence concerning the Borneo mission is full of passing references to catechists and the catechumenate, but does not provide a very clear picture of what actually happened in the catechumenate. Few of the names of the catechists are recorded and the content of their instruction is not reported. The first Fathers to arrive in Kuching were accompanied by the Paris Foreign Missionary, Fr. J. Saliles, and a Chinese catechist from Singapore. When Fr Saliles returned to Singapore the catechist stayed on to help the Fathers. He remained in the service of the mission for several years and left to set up a shoe repair business in Kuching. It is impossible to discover exactly how he occupied his time as catechist, but there are some clues that he spent some of his time teaching in the school and some of his time visiting and instructing Chinese converts in the bazaar and the gardens. The early statistical reports to Propaganda and the Holy Childhood list numbers of catechumenates; but it is difficult to discover if these catechumenates were actually buildings set aside for teaching catechism, as was the case in Kuching, or groupings of people undergoing instruction for baptism. In native stations very little distinction was made between the catechist and the school teacher and, when in 1883 Fr. Dunn requested funds to pay the salary of a full time catechist at Kanowit, Fr. Jackson replied disbelievingly: " I am quite willing to pay a Dayak catechist if one can be found who is worth paying".[40] In native stations, one of the main initial problems was the provision of vernacular catechisms and during the whole of 1888 Fr Jackson and Fr. Dunn exchanged letters to discuss how this could be done. Fr. Jackson was under the impression that all catechisms must be simple translations of approved European works and believed that any native catechism must have the approval of Rome before it could be used.[41]

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38. Bishop Galvin proposed to the Malaysian Bishops' Conference 1971 that the emergency situation justified the ordination of married men, but his plea was rejected by the other bishops.
39. Interviews with some of the priests who were tutors at the seminary, January to June 1979.
40. SWA-3-Steel v.1 p. 26.
41. SWA-3-Steel v 1 p. 123.

What happened genrally in native mission stations was that the catechist was trained in accordance with the Rector's ideas on the subject and practice varied from station to station. Some had well trained and highly respected catechists and others used men who were very simply trained to teach the catechism and the prayers by rote and who sometimes led the Sunday prayers when no priest was available.

In 1921 the Fifth Provincial Chapter decided that there must be an end to this haphazard approach and resolved that a central catechists' school should be set up at Labuan.[42] Fr. H Jansens was appointed to carry out this plan, but there is no record that he did anything about it and the plan fell by default. In Fr. Jansens' defence it might be noted that the mission was hit very hard by the collapse in rubber prices of the 1920s and funds for the Labuan scheme must have been very difficult to find.

The 1927 division of the Prefecture into the Prefectures of North Borneo and Kuching occasioned a re-evaluation of policies in both North Borneo and Sarawak. By 1930 Fr. J. Buis and Fr. L. Barry had been entrusted with the task of running a catechists' school at Kanowit. It ran fairly well for a few years and then ceased when Fr. Buis was transferred to Sibu. Mgr Wachter concentrated on the training of Chinese catechists and obtained the assistence of Fr. J. Shek from Hong Kong for this purpose. As a temporary expedient, this training programme succeeded relatively well, bit it collapsed for lack of finance.[43]

During the post-war colonial period catechists were needed in increased numbers to cope with the large numbers of converts that needed instruction, but most post-war catechists were part-time only and received a small honorarium for their services. During this period two changes in the Education system signalled a demand for more careful training of catechists and for an improvement of their status within the Church and in the Catholic community. For the spread of educational services meant that very large numbers of Catholic children began to be educated in non-Catholic government schools. The Fathers and Sisters were able to handle the religious instruction of pupils in secondary schools, but the only means of providing primary school religious instruction was through the catechists. Many catechists were quite capable of handling this work, but some were not. In the late 1960s and early 1970s when the provisions

42. SWA-10-41 to 61, Fifth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, June 1921, Resolution no 4; also, Mgr. E. Dunn's comments on the resolution.

43. Interview with Mr. Thomas Lee Sin Sang, Arpil 1978.

of paragraphs 36 and 38 of the Akta Pelajaran (1961) were being made to bite into school religious instruction, the work of the catechists became even more important, even in Catholic schools. The reduction in the number of priests available to serve the increasing Catholic population meant too that the Catechist's role as a community prayer leader became more important. In indigenous communities his position began to develope towards a status similar to that held previously by the menang.

These developments highlighted the very important need in the Church for a corps of well trained catechists. The need was recognized, but there seemed to be no source for the finance necessary to respond to it and the plans the missionaries made in the early 1960s were always hamstrung by lack of money. In Sabah, a palliative treatment was attempted when Fr. W. Smit and Fr. J. Dapez undertook to prepare weekly instructions that were sent out to the catechists in the outstations for use in the Sunday services. In this manner it was hoped that the standard of these services would improve and a regular syllabus of instruction might be implemented.

In the late 1960s circumstances changed suddenly and more money became available for catechists' work. Previous to this time some money had been available from outside Borneo, but in such small amounts that it rarely sufficed to cover the wages of more than a few catechists. In the mid-1960s MISSIO in Germany began to realize the importance of providing ample subsidies for the work of catechists and of generous funding for training programmes in catechetics. In this new financial climate the pioneer work of Fr. Joseph Pichler in Sarawak and Fr. George Bauer in Sabah began to receive recognition and financial support. By their efforts and with financial backing from MISSIO two residential training schools were established, one at Marudi to serve the needs of Sarawak and one at Keningau for Sabah. The Keningau school soon became known as the Puskat (Pusat Katekist = Catechist Centre).[44]

These two schools differed in their approaches to training. The Puskat concentrated on the provision of short residential courses of about three months duration and it continues today to provide such courses. The Marudi courses were also residential, but they lasted for two years and only three such two year courses were actually given. When its third class graduated, an insufficient number of candidates was sponsored by the mission stations to make possible a fourth course. This came about because missionaries in Sarawak realized that the needs

44. SBA-7-307 to 328, Documentation on the Keningau Puskat. The Sarawak documentation falls under the fifty years rule.

in highly trained catechists had been met and what was then required was a number of catechists auxiliaries and longhouse prayer leaders who would supplement the work of the trained catechists. These required more motivation than training and the school was split up into two sections at Marudi and Kanowit to provide them with short courses in Christian leadership. Later, similar courses were set up at Penrissen to serve the needs fo the First Division missions in Sarawak, but the Penrissen development came later and falls outside the scope of this study.

The needs for catechists in the towns and in the predominantly Chinese mission stations were not supplied be either the Puskat or the Marudi school. The town missions sought to provide for their needs by sending catechists overseas for training in Taiwan and they made a break with tradition in that, for the first time, they employed ladies as catechists. In addition to this traditional approach, for a short period of two years (1974-6), a new approach to town apostolate was tried by a team of priests, catechists and youth workers, who gained themselves the nickname " The Flying Column". Only one town, Sibu, got the benefit of this apporach and participants claim a large measure of success there, but certain pressure groups in Sarawak brought about the discontinuation of the experiment in 1976.

A full treatment of the structural model of the Church would require a discussion of indigenous bishops; but this topic can be handled better in Chapter Seven where consideration will be given to the bishop in the context of the whole development process.

(iv)

The structures of Borneo societies and the influence of their communalist attitudes on both political and commercial life might lead one into the error of thinking that the communal Church is just another political or commercial pressure group. The movement towards realizing a communal model of Church should be seen, however, as an endeavour to become conscious of being one people under God, and the Church's efforts in this direction must take acoount of two legitimate objectives which seem at times to be working against one another. It has to preserve and promote authentic union with the universal Church and at the same time seek an identity of its own. The latter objective is sometimes called indigenization and has expressed itself in the free use of Borneo art forms in the liturgy and in the adaptation of ritual to what are understood by the missionaries to be the fundamental needs of the

the indigenous peoples.[45] The oponents of these approaches in adaptation judge them to be too artificial and reject them scornfully as "putting a jacket on the monkey". Some of these oponents advocate fidelity to the purest Roman models, others yearn for a new type of communal consciousness that would cut across the racial divisions in Borneo societies. The latter are conscious of the need both to preserve the values of the individual racial communities that make up the Church and to nurture in the whole Catholic community a sense of belonging which transcends the strict bounds of communalism.[46] Though these objectives have not yet been achieved satisfactorily, some progress has neen made and this section seeks to trace how this progress has come about. It aims to consider the movements which were initiated by the laity as well as those that were inspired by the priests and missionaries.

Previous to 1940 mission documents make scant reference to the contributions of the laity who were not catechists. Fr. Jackson does mention that he hoped that the young men converted in the schools would bring the Faith to their families in the longhouses,[47] but there is no way of assessing accurately how strong this influence became and what has been said earlier in this chapter would suggest that his hope was an altogether too simple expectation. For the main influence of the schools on conversions was at a much broader social level. Despite the lack of documentation, we can note three different types of lay contribution to the expansion of the Church. The first was that of mission school teachers, many of whom received small salaries and worked out of a strong sense of loyalty to the Church. The second was that of nurses and dressers who brought to their work a strong sense of purpose and religious dedication. The impact of their work can only be guessed in so far as its only documentary evidence is to be found in the records of baptisms that were not administered by priests. It is normal to find in these cases that the minister of baptism is a nurse or a dresser. A third type of influence can be traced to persons of special prominence whose conversions were a signal for large numbers of admirers and followers to come into the Church. It is said, for example, that the turning point of the mission's success in Bundu

45. The work of the Iban Liturgical Commission is to be noted in this respect, as also that of Bishop A.D. Galvin among the Kenyah.
46. These views are a cross section of the views expressed by priests of the diocese of Kota Kinabalu at their meeting held in May 1979. The writer was a participant at this meeting.
47. MHFA-13-F-17, Jackson letter of appeal, July 1884.

Kuala Penyu was the conversion of a lady called Martha. She had been a chief bobohizan (native priestess) and persuaded many of the other bobohizan to follow her into the Church. None of the details of these contributions can be documented. They are remembered only in the stories old people tell to their grandchildren.

The first document that indicates any awareness of a special role for the laity in the Borneo Church is found in an anonymous essay that is preserved in the Roosendaal archives of the Mill Hill Missionaries. It outlines a plan for pastoral action in the Rejang, which envisages a central mission council made up representatives from each of the Catholic longhouses, who are responsible under the Rector for the general running of Church affairs in the whole mission. The paper used in the document, tobacco wrappers, indicates that it was written in Batu Lintang internment camp and the style of writing suggests that it was written by a missionary of some seniority and authority. Further than that we can say little else about the document except that it looks forward to many of the ideas that became generally current only in the middle and late 1960s.

The movement known as the lay apostolate had begun to grow in Europe from the beginning of the 1920s and received the official approval of the Church in 1930 and 1931.[48] The form of this movement that was to have an impact on Borneo was that known as the Legion of Mary, founded in Dublin by the late Frank Duff in 1922. It spread swiftly throughout the English speaking world and into Europe and Africa. In 1937 its first membership was recruited in China, but the Chinese section remained weak until 1948. In that year, Mgr. A. Riberi, previously Apostolic Delegate in Kenya, was appointed papal internuncio to China. Mgr. Riberi had been a great admirer of the saintly Edel Quinn, founder of the Legion of Mary in East Africa, and invited the Columban missionary, Fr. A. McGrath, to make special efforts to promote the movement in China. Fr. McGrath's efforts met with phenomenal success and the Legion began to mushroom throughout China.[49] It was especially strong in Hong Kong and, when the Chinese diaspora priests began to arrive in Borneo in the early 1950s, they came with an enthusiasm for the Legion of Mary and helped to establish it throughout the country.

48. Pope Pius XI, "Non Abbiamo Bisogno", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.23 no.8 (1930), pp 285-312, 29 June 1930.
49. Anon, "The Legion of Mary - Its Spirituality, Methods and Aims", Herder Correspondence, v.3 no.4 (1972), pp 110-8.

The Legion of Mary works on the basis of a quasi-military discipline which aims to combine prayer and action. The members are required to attend weekly meetings for prayer and reflection and to receive their work assignment for the week. In the larger European cities they may be instructed to do anything from teaching catechism to visiting prisons or doss houses. In Borneo, their work concerned visiting the sick and the aged, teaching catechism and running youth recreation groups. It was a strong organization that spread throughout Sarawak and North Borneo, but it was firmly entrenched within the traditional structures of the Church. The pro-forma statistical reports to Propaganda in the 1950s required information on Catholic lay societies and the Borneo returns state that only three such societies functioned in Sarawak and North Borneo -- the Holy Childhood, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith and the Legion of Mary. The first two of these are organizations for the collection of pious alms and do not REALLY concern us at present. By the middle of the 1960s the Legion of Mary had begun to wane in Borneo and this was due partly to the rigidity of its rules, which were not susceptible to adaptation, and partly to new influences that had begun to make themselves felt in the Church in Borneo.

During the years that the Legion of Mary was strong in North Borneo and Sarawak there were two other attempts at establishing lay societies. Fr. John Yong gathered together a society that was known as the League of Catholic Ladies, but this organization lasted for only a few years and never spread beyond the town of Sandakan.[50] A society that lasted for some years was the Catholic Youth Association, founded in Jesselton in 1960 by Fr. John Tsung. This society gained most of its strength from Chinese young men and had little impact in predominantly indigenous mission stations. Its aims were often regarded as more recreational than religious and, despite its large memebership, it failed to become a strong lay influence in the Church.

By the mid-1960s the Fathers had begun to cast about for some type of Catholic Action group that could supplement the Legion of Mary and perhaps supplant it. In the 1966 Rectors' Meeting at Kota Kinabalu, Fr George Bauer made a strong appeal that ways and means be found to induce the laity to take more active part in the apostolate. The meeting considered his appeal and decided that all Catholic youth work should be brought together under some umbrella organization.

50. Interviews with Fr. A. Mulders, December 1978, and Fr. T. Sham, March 1979.

The movement that was chosen to promote this was the YCW (Young Christian Workers) with its sister organizations the YCS (Young Christian Students) and the CFM (Christian Farmers Movement).[51] These movements were established in Belgium and are known in Flemish areas as Kojoters and in Waloon areas as Jocistes. With its slogan SEE -- JUDGE -- ACT it has about it a certain Christian militancy which young people found attractive. The branch that spread the most widely throughout Sabah was the YCS. At the same time similar moves were being made to spread it into Sarawak where it expanded under the direction of Fr. J. Muhren. It has been very active in parish orgainizations, in the promotion of Christian literature and instruction, and in the organization of youth recreational facilities.

At the same Rectors' Meeting at Kota Kinabalu Fr. W. Smit proposed:[52]

> ...that in every parish a committee of lay councillors be formed which should meet frequently(once a month) to discuss the spiritual and material problems of the parish.

and

> ..that the rectors, when possible, should adhere to the advice of the councillors.

This proposal was accepted for a trial period of six months. Its phrasing indicated a certain undercurrent of uncertainty. For the Rectors feared that there would be a reduction in their authority and that they would lose control of the mission finances.

Not all stations were able to set up parish councils and the first councils established were very restricted in their authority, very firmly under the thumbs of the Rectors. During the years that followed 1966 Bishop Buis' quiet insistence brought about the gardual acceptance of parish councils throughout the Vicariate. They were accepted at first with suspicion until circumstances brought about a complete change of attitudes. The event that banished fears of the parish councils in Sabah was the beginning of the Mustapah expulsions. The removal of the European priests and Sisters was a strong blow to the finance and organization of the Church and it became neccessary for the laity to shoulder more responsibility if the local Church in Sabah was to avoid collapse in the face of events. The parish councils were the ideal instruments to undertake this responsibility and in 1971, largely at the instance of Peter Mojuntin and Fr. F. Jud, they

51.SBA-1-276 to 287, Rectors' Meeting, Kota Kinabalu, 22-23 Aug. 1966.
52.SBA-1-285, ibid.

they were federated into a state-wide organization that became known as PAX (Persatuan Agama Katolik Sabah). Through the initiatives of its first president, Bishop Peter Chung, and its first lay chairmen, Datuk Peter Mojuntin, Datuk Herman Luping and Datuk Ben Stephens, it soon became a strong lay arm of the Church with directorates covering most sections of Church activity in Sabah. When the diocese of Kota Kinabalu was erected in 1976 the position of the PAX constituted a phenomenon, unusual if not unique in the Catholic Church, a diocese governed by a bishop and a parliament.

Developments in Sarawak during this period concentrated on youth work, Christian leadership and indigenization in the liturgy and ritual.[53] The development of parish councils was not generally appreciated as a matter of very great urgency, but both Bishop Galvin of Miri and Bishop Reiterer of Kuching realized that they ought to be established as soon as possible. Bishop Reiterer called the first Pastoral Council for the Kuching Vicariate in 1972, but this council was necessaiily an exploratory sort of meeting and a prelude to the really important Second Pastoral Council of the Kuching Vicariate of 11-12 December 1973,[54] attended by 76 delegates from all over the Vicariate. This second council discussed a number of position papers on the lay apostolate and the Christian family.. Its approaches to problems were markedly different from those of Sabah in the calmness and lack of urgency of its proceedings, but its resolutions show a very practical bias and indicate that the council did not allow itself to be stampeded into passing resolutions that would be impossible to implement. Bishop Galvin was unsuccessful in his efforts to establish a Pastoral Conference in the Vicariate of Miri.

Some missionaries have been inclined to criticize the Sarawak missions for their slowness in developing the role of the laity in the Church, but a cold assessment of the developments in Sabah and Sarawak indicates that the Sabah developments did not arise from any pre-planned policy and were responses to a series of critical situations. The situation in Sarawak dictated a much slower pace of development. We may recall the second set of defining factors discussed at the beginning of this chapter, those based on the concept of expectation, and it is possible to view all the developments mentioned in this chapter as the results of the changing expectations of the peoples

53. See note no.45 and the remarks made above concerning Christian leadership training.
54. SWA-2-23 to 35, Reports of the Second Pastoral Council of Kuching Vicariate, 11-12 Dec. 1973, Kuching.

of Sabah and Sarawak. Only one case has been quoted that illustrates any manipulation of these expectations, namely, Mgr. Wachter's invitation of Fr. J. Sheck to North Borneo for the purpose of breaking the local prejudice that only white men could be priests. All other changes in expectation have come from circumstance, not from policy.

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CHAPTER FIVE

S O C I A L I M P A C T

Nineteenth century British colonialists in Borneo saw themselves as civilising influences and welcomed the Catholic mission for the contribution it could make to their ideal of civilisation. The government of Labuan saw this contribution in terms of the provision of schools and would not at first consider allocating land to the mission without some guarantee that schools would be established.[1] The Rajah Charles Brook, viewing the matter in a different and broader perspective, expected the mission to act also as a stabilising influence on the Iban.[2] Some officers of the North Borneo government looked on the mission as a danger. They felt that the white man needed to stand apart to maintain his authority and to demonstrate his superiority to the indigenes. The missionary, choosing to live in poverty and in close contact with the local people, could weaken his understanding of white superiority and was therefore a danger.[3] The missionaries themselves came to save souls and to establish the Church, but they understood that the demands of the colonialists could be turned towards this purpose and could become a means towards the ends sought by both the government and the Church.[4] Though Fr. Jackson regarded education as an important missionary task he did not wish to be rushed into making rash promises that many schools would be established before he had found out which places would be most suitable for such development and before the missionaries themselves had had a chance to learn the local languages. For he was convinced that education should be conducted in the vernacular with

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1. MHFA-13-A-17, Jackson to Benoit, 19 Nov. 1881
2. MHFA-13-A-13, Jackson to Benoit, 20 Sept. 1881
3. MHFA-13 A-15, Jackson to Benoit, 31 Oct. 1881
4. J.v.d. Klugt & M.Conroy, The Opening Door. Mill Hill Mission to Afghanistan (Rawalpindi 1979), pp.47-49. Jackson's 1880 memorandum to Vaughan on possibilities for evangelisation in Afghanistan. See also MHFA-13-A-16, Jackson to Treacher, 9 Nov. 1881.

English as an optional extra.[55] The mission's educational services were an important element of its social impact, but by no means the only element. Other chapters of this study have discussed a number of elements that combined to make up this social impact. This chapter restricts itself to those social factors not mentioned elsewhere, but important enough to require separate treatment.

(ii)

Discussions of social change demand considerations of the language of the agents of such change and, though it may seem a banal observation, it was not until the seventeenth century that Catholic missiological thinkers actually formulated the principle that the indigenous language must be used in evangelisation.[6] It seems appropriate to consider here the Catholic mission's contribution to studies of Borneo languages, but it is not possible to assess accurately the impact that these studies had on the enrichment of the languages or on the changes in indigenous attitudes attendant on beginning to move from an unwritten to a written language and culture. Though missionary language studies generally eschew considerations that are purely academic they have certain specialist requirements, viz. a suitable vocabulary to express Christian concepts and a grammar and ORTHOGRAPHY that permit disciplined and accurate use of the languages. This section seeks to illustrate how these needs were met and aims to indicate some justification for some of the modern LINGUISTIC phenomena which occur.

Fr. P. de Wit's collection of Malay Christian terms,[7] probably the most comprehensive Borneo collection of its kind, keeps close the the basic Malay words, but evidences two linguistic qualities which may be described as 'refinement' and 'borrowing'. By refinement an ordinary Malay word is endowed with a specialised meaning as in the terms persaudaraan segala

5. MHFA-13-A-18, Jackson to Benoit, 5 Dec.1881, and MHFA-13-A-45, Kilty to Jackson, 28 Oct.1881.
6. See e.g. Thomas of Jesus, De Procuranda Salute Onmium Gentium (Antwerp,1613). This observation is based on the Hugh Fenning 1977 lectures at the Angelicum on the work of Francesco Ingoli, first secretary of Propaganda.
7. P. de Wit, Pengajaran Ugama katolik Philippines,1966), pp.387-438.

orang kudus[8] and kasambutan suchi[9] used to signify two different uses of the Christian term communion. Borrowing occurs when the Christian idea cannot be expressed in Malay or when the Malay term is misleading. An example of this is the use of the Arabic rahmat for grace instead of the Malay term ridzwan with its heavy Muslim overtones. Such borrowings are made generally from Latin, only occasionally from Arabic. The strong links Borneo languages have with Malay may seem sufficient justification for the extensive Malay borrowing which has characterised much of the Christian terminology chosen by the missionaries, but there is one other factor which demands consideration, the distinction between the arcane and common forms of Borneo languages. For there is a marked difference between the language of tribal ritual and the language of everyday work. Early missionaries were afraid of the arcane language and they thought it to be so layered with pagan overtones as to be an unsuitable vehicle for Christian expression[10]. The Malay borrowings are normally accompanied by a certain technical level of refinement, but other refinement seems to have occurred in the use of such words as the Iban nimet for grace, which is found in different forms in Dayak, Melanau, Kayan and Kenyah missionary texts. The last decade has, however, seen a revised missionary interest in the arcane language forms, which seems to aim at the reversal of the approaches of the past hundred years.[11]

The modern Borneo language student often has to cope with multiple orthographies which are characterised as either Catholic or Protestant. The spelling differences have arisen because missionaries of different confessions studied the languages without very much cross-reference to the findings of other missionaries and emotional loyalties have led scholars to hold with determination to the peculiarities of their own particular groups. The variations are more noticeable in some languages than in others, a factor which is made understandable if we distinguish between those languages which show a marked level of geographical

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8. "Communion of Saints"; literally:"Kinship of holy people".
9. "Holy Communion"; literally: "Sacred sharing".
10. This follows from an analysis of the preface to Fr. Dunn's translation of the Mengap Bungai Taun. Refer footnote No. 25.
11. No studies have yet been published, but the work of the Iban liturgical commission is notable in this respect.

conformity from those which do not. Examples of the former are Iban and Kadazan which are fundamentally the same over a wide area. Examples of the latter are Dayak and Melanau which show marked differences in the language even of villages which are in close proximity. The orthographies chosen by the early missionaries depended on the manner of speech common in the areas of their immediate concern and in the early days were seldom a subject of controversy. Disagreements arose only when prayer books and catechisms were published and it happened sometimes that victory went to the more stubborn protagonist against the more scholarly and easily tractable[12]. To uderstand the sort of issues that caused disagreement we will discuss the problems of Kadazan grammar and orthography in so far as these typify similar problems met in other languages.

The earliest pre-missionary word list in Kadazan, or Ida-han as it was then called, is in appendix of Captain Mundy's Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes down to the Occupation of Labuan; From the Journals of James Brooke Esq. (London, 1848). The orthographical errors in this list are such that to understand it demands a thorough knowledge of the language. A distinct improvement is noticeable in the lists provided by Fr. A. Prenger[13] and the Goossen's dictionary of 1924,[14] though not perfect, evidences a much more precise grasp of how the language is made up. The 1958 publication of Fr. A. Antonissen's Kadazan Dictionary and Grammar[15] seemed finally to have provided a near perfect orthography which made adequate provision for the variant word forms found in the different dialects. Fr. Antonissen's system was accepted almost immediately as standard by the government and the newspapers. About the same time, however, the BEM (Borneo Evangelical Mission) began to publish scripture books in an almost completely different orthography which was based on the dialects of the interior, omitted the 'z' sound and substituted the Antonissen 'o' with and 'e'.

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12. For this reason there were two Kadazan prayer books until 1940, the Penampang and Limbahau prayer books. Wachter and Goossens disagreed about which dialect would be standard and, though Wachter was in charge, Goossens was wealthy enough to go his own way.
13. A. Prenger, The Dusuns of North Borneo and Their Riddles (Geneva, 1894).
14. A. Goossens, "A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Dusun Language", JMBRAS, v.2, part 2 (1924), pp.87-220.
15. A.Antonissen, Kadazan Dictionary and Grammar, Canberra,1958.

The BEM system did not stop at such minor variation, but also differed from the Catholic system in its concept of Kadazan grammar. For the early Catholic missionaries had approached the language from the basis of their own thorough grounding in Greek and Latin grammar. Their ingenious, but admittedly complicated description of the language distinguished about thirty modalities or tenses of the verb, used in three separate voices. It accepted declension of the article, predicative adjectives with present and past tense and prepositions that could be used as verbs. Examination of BEM publications suggests that they employed a simpler grammatical starting point which may be illustrated by their handling of the words: ii,oh,do,di. Catholic students had regarded these as articles, but the BEM treated them as simple enclitics. Thus good = osonong (Catholic) = osenong (BEM) and well = do tosonong (Catholic) = dot osenong (BEM). These few remarks give simple clues to the complications of the problems, but further technical evaluation of the systems is not historically relevant. That the systems have been categorised as Catholic and Protestant may be a compliment to the missions, but is nevertheless deplorable.

The earliest Catholic mission publication in Iban was a translation in 1886 of St. Alphonsus Liguori's Thoughts on Death by Fr. E. Dunn. A year later he published a little catechism called Surat Pengajaran,[16] produced to look like manuscript and seemingly printed from wax skins. If Fr. Dunn wrote any other books in Iban, they are not extant. A very handsome Iban prayer book, Surat Orang Christian by Fr. J. Stotter, was published in Brixen in 1904. Bound in leather and gilt edged, it contains translations of the epistles and gospels for Sundays and Feasts throughout the year and a collection of blessings in Iban. Perhaps too expensive for general distribution, it was superseded by two little books by Fr. A.Klerk - Surat Sembayang kena Anak Biak and Tuku Sacramenta.[17] Fr. Klerk also translated the Schuster Bible History under the title Jerita Empakat Lama unggau Empekat Baru[18] and, just before the Japanese

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16. There is no extant copy of the catechism. A copy of Surat Pikir St. Liguori unggau mai kitai (Rumah St. Francis,1886) is in St. Joseph's Library, Mill Hill, Class No. 243:2049IBA,Acc.No. 17705.
17. A. Klerk, Surat Sembayang kena Anak Biak and Tuku Sacramenta (Kanowit, undated)
18. A. Klerk, Jerita Empakat Lama unggau Empekat Baru Turnhout, (undated).

occupation, completed the manuscript of a larger Iban catechism which was lost during the war. Several editions and amended versions of Fr. Klerk's works appeared at regular intervals until 1950 and little new work was done until the reforms of the second Vatican Council occasioned the publication of Tususa Sambayang Misa ngema Jako Iban by Fr. G. Bruggeman in 1966.[19] a new catechism, Penebus Kitai by Fr. J. Pichler and S. Lading[20] Fr. Pichler's translation Jacob Ecker's Die Kleine Bibel under the title Cherita Sempekat Lama unggau Sempekat Baru ditusi ka Anembiak[21] and the modern Iban prayer book, Datai Tuan, by the Iban Liturgical Commission.[22] The earliest Catholic non-religious studies were Fr. Dunn's The Dayaks of Sarawak, Borneo[23] and Religious Rites and Customs of the Sea Dayaks. The Nengap Bungai Taun.[24] Fr. L. Barry produced an English Iban phrasebook (Kuching, undated) and in 1976 Fr. Bruggeman completed an English-Iban dictionary which still awaits publication.

There are four extant prayer books in the three Dayak languages - Buk Sembayang by Fr. L. Schwabl (Bau),[25] Semiang Adat Kristen by Fr. A. Mak (Sadong),[6] Surat Semiang Inya Bidayuh by Fr. J. Meehan (Bidayuh)[27] and Simayang Bidayuh Katolik by Fr. B. Welling (Bidayuh).[28] There are four catechisms - Katekisom by Fr. Schwable (Bau),[29] Wa Pesaia Eklesia Katolika by an anonymous writer (Bau),[30] Katekism Adat Daya Kristen by Fr. H.v.Erp (Sadong)[31] and Tapa Ngajar Manusia by Fr. Welling (Bidayuh).[32] Fr. A Reyffert's English-Dayak word list was not published until

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19. G. Bruggeman, Tususa Sembayang Misa ngema Jako Iban. (Kanowit, 1966).
20. J. Pichler and S. Lading, Penebus Kitai (Miri, 1978).
21. J. Pichler, Cherita Sempekat Lama unggau Sempekat Baru ditusi Ka Anembiak (Marudi, 1967.
22. Iban Liturgical Commission, Datai Tuan (Kuching, undated).
23. A paper read before the Manchester Geographical Society on 23 Nov. 1887.
24. Anthropos, 7 (1912), pp. 135-154;634-648; 8(1913),pp.22-39; 9(1914)pp.494-528;873-913; 11(1916/17)pp.332-357; 817-843.
25. L. Schwabl, Buk Sembayang (Patna, 1958).
26. A. Mak, Semiang Adat Kristen (Hoorn, 1958).
27. J. Meehan, Surat Semiang inya Bidayuh (Kuching, 1969).
28. B. Welling, Simayang Bidayah Katolik (Patna, undated).
29. L. Schwabl, Katekisom (Patna, 1960.
30. Anon, Wa Pesaia Eklesia Katolika Jegum Adat Kristian (Kuching, 1969).
31. H.v.Erp, Katekism Adat Kristen (Patna, undated).
32. B. Welling, Tapa Ngajar Manusia (Patna, undated).

half a century after his death.[33] When the cause for Fr. F. Westerwoudt's canonization was opened, all his papers were sealed and his notes on the Singhi Dayaks are not, therefore, available for study. In 1950 the Sarawak Museum Journal published Fr. P. Aichner's short study of land Dayak language and religious sustoms.[34]

It is surprising that there is so little record of mission studies of the Melanau language. All that remain are a prayer book, Caeleste Palmetum, written probably by Fr. A. Mulders and published in Sarawak in 1920, and the 1950 and 1953 editions of the Melanau catechism and prayer books. The mission kept vocabularies and notes on the language, which, the story goes, were lent ot a graduate student of Edinburgh university and were never recovered. In 1930 the Sarawak Museum Journal published a Melanau word list which is supposed to have been from mission sources.[35]

There are only two short prayer books in the Kenyah and Kayan languages, Pejong ne Allah and Sembayang Putung Dau,[36] but Bishop A. D. Galvin and Fr. F. Baartmans have published many articles about Kenyah language and customs in the journals of the Brunei and Sarawak Museums. In 1967 Bishop Galvin published a 105 page Kenyah vocabulary of about 3,500 words with appendices containing 67 names of birds, 45 names of fish, 191 names of trees and 30 names of Sarawak Kenyah groups with the names of each group's location. A work by Bishop Galvin which has not received the attention that it deserves is On the Banks of the Baram,[37] a collection of 45 Kenyah stories and fables in English translation, some in prose and some in verse.

The Punans (sometimes spelt Penan) have as yet received scant attention from the Catholic mission. In the 1920s there was some interest shown in them and in 1924, on behalf of Anthropos, Fr. J. Koppers offered to finance a one year study of the Punan to be carried out by a Father appointed to the task. Mgr. Dunn did not like the idea and put Fr. Koppers off by suggesting that instead Anthropos should contribute towards the establishment of a new station at Pelawong, from which approaches to the Punan might be made.[38] The only published

33. A. Reyffert, Vocabulary of English and Sarawak Land Dayak (Singhi Tribe) (Kuching, 1950). A.A. Cense & E.M. Uhlenbeck, A Critical Survey of the Languages of Borneo (Hague, 1958), p. 19.
34. P. Aichner,"Some Customs and Practices among the Land Dayaks", Sarawak Museum Journal, no.? (1950), pp. 221-5.
35. Sarawak Museum Journal,4.1.12(1930), pp. 87-130 and Cense Uhlenbeck, Languages of Borneo, p. 19.
36. Anon, Pejong ne Allah(Miri, undated) & Sembayang Putung Dau (Miri,1974).
37. A.D. Galvin, On the Banks of the Baram (Singapore, 1972).
38. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.43. Fr. Staal wished to be assigned to this job and his disappointment at Mgr. Dunn's attitude colours his account.

Catholic study of the Punan is Fr. F. Baartman's account of their MUD healing rites in the Sarawak Museum Journal of 1966.[39]

Little has been done in North Borneo about Murut studies, except for a little pamphlet entitled Sambayang ra Ulun nu Asak, undated and emanating from Keningau. The mission's energies have been directed mainly at the Kadazan language. Vazaan doid Surga, a Kadazan prayer book, is available in several editions, each successive edition being an expansion and re-work of the previous. Apart from the BEM translations of the New Testament there are three existing Catholic scripture books: Testamentum Haid by Fr. G. Lampe,[40] Koimaan Ngaavi di Tuan Jesus by Fr. A. Antonissen[41] and Suat Ngaavi do Tadau Minggu om Tadau Tongobitua by Fr. W. Smit.[42] The latest edition of the Katekismus was published in 1950.[43] A number of other short booklets of prayers and hymns, cyclostyled in various mission stations, have not gained any very general circulation. The earliest Catholic study of the language is that by Fr. A. Prenger, The Dusuns of North Borneo and their Riddles, published by the International Congress of Orientalists at Geneva in 1894. Fr. Prenger also composed a dictionary concerning which Mgr. Wachter wrote in 1939 that he had come across a copy in Keningau. Fr. Prenger had lent this copy to a Mr. Grant, but, when Mr. Grant had finished his contract with the government, the government had claimed the dictionary as government property.[44] In 1924 a full issue of the Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was given over to Fr. A. Goossens' extensive dictionary and grammar of the Limbahau language.[45] In the 1920s, too, Fr. J. Staal published four articles in Anthropos -- "The Dusuns of North Borneo",[46] "The Dusun Language",[47] "Dusun Drinking- and Love-Songs"[48] and "A Heathen Dusun Prayer".[49] In 1955 two interesting studies appeared in the Hong Kong Mission Bulletin -- "Folklore et Chansons Dusun" by Fr. A. Verhoeven[50] and

39. F. Baartmans, "Kakus Punan MUD Healing Rites", Sarawak Museum Journal, nos.28-29 (1966), 81-86.
40. G. Lampe, Testamentum Haid (Penampang, 1948).
41. A. Antonissen, Koimaan Ngaavi di Tuan Jesus (Daughters of St. Paul, undated).
42. W. Smit, Suat Ngaavi do Tadau Minggu om Tadau Tongobitua, (Penampang, undated).
43. A. Antonissen, Katekismus (Penampang, 1950).
44. SBA-4-140, Wachter Diary.
45. Refer note no. 14.
46. J. Staal, "The Dusuns of North Borneo", Anthropos, nos. 18-19 (1923-24), pp.958-77, no.20 (1925), pp.120-38,929-51.
47. J. Staal, "The Dusun Language", Anthropos, no.21 (1926), pp.938-51.
48. J.Staal, "Dusun Drinking- and Love-Songs", Anthropos,no.21(1926), pp. 182-91. 49. J. Staal,"A Heathen Dusun Prayer", Anthropos, no.22 (1927), pp.197-201. 50. A. Verhoeven, "Folklore et Chansons Dusun", Mission Bulletin, v.7 no.1 (1955), pp.3-7.

"Borneo's Bobohizans"by Fr. Antonissen.[51] The Kadazan Dictionary and Grammar of 1958,[52] although it is attributed to Fr. Antonissen, was achieved in cooperation with Fr. Verhoeven during the time they were both in the Batu Lintang internment camp; it owes much to the help and encouragement of Mr. Samuel Majalang and Mr. Bernard Mojikon of Penampang.[53] An unpublished study of Kadazan marriage laws and customs, Undang Undang do Pisasavaan do Tuhun Kadazan, is to be found in the Sabah Church Archives.[54]

In response to the Church's recent reforms, liturgical texts continue to be produced in these languages. They are cyclo-styled for each occasion and it will be some time before the final edited versions may be published. The modern approach to these liturgical requirements HIGHLIGHTS
^what may seem an unusual omission in previous Catholic linguistic studies, the failure during one hundred years to produce a complete Catholic translation of the Bible. No Catholic missionary thought he combined in himself sufficient grasp of the indigenous and biblical languages to qualify him for such a sacred task, and examination of the brave, but unsatisfactory efforts of some non-Catholic missionaries did not make them any more confident to attempt it.

The richness of the mission's language studies among the peoples on whom it had the greatest impact should not make us think that such knowledge followed success, rather the other way round. The early missionaries studied Malay first and then used a native or a Chinese to act as a "grammar and dictionary"[55] of the indigenous language. The collections of notes and vocabularies which are still preserved on some stations suggest a pooling of the insights that came from daily contact with the people. The mission's impact was increased as these resources increased the missionaries' capacity for accurate communication.

(iii)

The earliest schools established by the mission were St. Joseph's Kuching in April 1882[56] and St. Mary's Sandakan on 24 July 1883.[57] After

51. A. Antonissen, "Borneo's Bobohizans", Mission Bulletin, v.7 no.1 (1955), pp. 8 - 10.
52. Refer to note no. 15.
53. SBA-4-273, Frs. Verhoeven and Antonissen to Wachter, from Batu Lintang Camp, 29 Jan. 1943.
54. SBA-3-186 to 190.
55. MHFA-13-A-18, Dunn to Benoit, 30 Sept. 1881.
56. SWA-8-9, Diary of St. Joseph's School, Kuching.
57. SWA-1-6, Some Notes on the Beginnings of the North Borneo Mission.

false starts at Sari and Kapit Fr. Dunn opened a school at Kanowit, probably in 1883,[58] but after that school development was very slow. Table 4 gathers together the data available to indicate the rate of expansion both in numbers of schools and in numbers of pupils attending schools.[59]

The story behind the slow progress this table indicates is one of apathy and lack of interest. Attendance in rural schools, some with rolls of as few as ten pupils, was very irregular and often embarrassing to the mission. For Sarawak government officers often arrived to inspect the schools and found that all the boys had gone home; but they seldom made difficulties on account of this since they judged that such experiences were all that could be expected in native areas.[60] The early Sisters' schools found it very difficult to find acceptance as few people appreciated thet any good could come from educating girls.[61]

It is difficult to discover exactly how much money was spent on education at any given time. No salaries were paid to the missionary teachers, some Fathers used their private means to keep the mission and school afloat financially, and others had personal benefactors who helped to finance their work. None of these sources of support appeared in any accounts books. The three official sources for school finance were the Holy Childhood grant, government grants and school fees. Seldom more than 30% of the pupils paid any fees at all.[62] Table 5 is constructed from the reports to the Holy Childhood that survive and gives a general, though not very accurate idea of how much money was available for school work. The first six columns are in French francs. Column 6 is calculated by dividing the total in column 5 by the relevant number of pupils reported in Table 4 column 5. Column 7 is a rough translation of the figures in column 6 into Sarawak dollars, based on a ratio of 1.7 francs to the dollar[63] and column 8 is a rationalization of column 7, allowing for 30% collection of school fees at S$18.00 per annum. If q is the per pupil

58. SWA-5-46, Kanowit ms. historical notes.
59. SWA boxes 5 and 6.
60. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p. 19.Report on Mr. Perham's inspection of Kanowit school.
61. MHFA-13-F-1, Haidegger to Benoit, ? Jan. 1886.
62. Early reports to Propaganda required children to be listed under the headings: fully supported by the mission, and partly supported by the mission. The number not supported is calculated by subtracting the total of these headings from the total reported school rolls.
63. No study of the fluctuations in Sarawak currency values is available. This ratio is an averaging out of information collated from miscellaneous correspondence of the period.

1 Year	2 No. of Schools	3 Boys'	4 Girls'	5 Total Pupils
1882	2	2	0	59
1883	3	3	0	?
1885	5	5	0	90
1886				114
1888	6			130
1889	7			138
1890	7			133
1891	6			150
1892	10	6	4	200
1893				255
1894	8			174
1896				179
1899	12	8	4	235
1900	13	9	4	?
1901				301
1902	14	10	4	524
1903	17	12	5	611
1904	17	11	6	683
1905	16	10	6	656
1906	15	9	6	675
1907	16	10	6	679
1908	17	11	6	709
1909	17	11	6	776
1910	17	11	6	?
1911	19	13	6	860
1912	20	13	7	949
1913	20	14	6	961
1914	20	13	7	1,003
1915	21	13	8	1,040
1916	20	13	7	1,114
1917	23	15	8	1,197
1918	20	13	7	1,168
1920	22	13	9	1,197
1922	28	20	8	1,878
1923				2,172

TABLE 4

TABLE 5

1 Year	2 Holy Childhood	3 Government Sarawak	4 Government NorthBorneo	5 Total	6 Franc.per pupil	7 S.dollar per pupil	8 S.dollar per pupil + fees
1905	11,000/-	3,350/-	500/-	14,850/-	22.64	13.32	18.72
1907	11,000/-	3,950/-	500/-	15,450/-	22.89	13.44	18.84
1908	11,000/-	4,500/-	800/-	16,300/-	24.85	14.62	20.02
1910	10,000/-	6,500/-	1,500/-	17,000/-	—	—	—
1911	10,000/-	6,680/-	1,500/-	18,180/-	21.14	12.44	17.84
1912	10,500/-	7,280/-	1,500/-	19,280/-	20.31	11.94	17.34
1914	11,000/-	9,080/-	1,800/-	21,880/-	21.81	12.83	18.23
1915	3,667/-	9,080/-	1,800/-	14,547/-	13.99	8.23	13.63
1917	6,050/-	9,080/-	1,800/-	16,930/-	14.14	8.32	13.72
1918	4,620/-	9,080/-	1,800/-	15,500/-	13.27	7.81	13.21
1919	5,940/-	9,400/-	1,800/-	17,140/-	—	—	—
1920	9,900/-	9,400/-	4,580/-	23,380/-	19.53	11.49	16.89
1921	16,000/-	9,400/-	4,580/-	29,980/-	21.55	12.68	18.08
1922	19,000/-	9,400/-	7,200/-	35,600/-	18.96	11.15	16.55
1923	19,000/-	14,000/-	4,500/-	37,500/-	17.27	10.16	15.55

allowance from fees and N is the total mission schools' roll for any given year, then

$$q = \frac{N \times 0.30 \times 18.00}{N} \qquad \text{and} \qquad q = 5.40.$$

This explains why the difference between column 8 and column 7 is constant.

Table 5 indicates that the money available per pupil varied between S$ 13.21 and S$ 20.02. Teachers' salaries varied between S$ 170.00 and S$ 240.00 per annum and, if we assume that other school costs added a further 40% to the bill, to break even on expenses demanded a teacher : pupil ratio of 1:13 at best and 1:25 at worst. Only town schools could ever hope to come near to these ratios and what usually happened was that rural schools struggled on in very ill-equipped buildings and town schools were relatively well off. Even if there had been any great general enthusiasm for the benefits of education, the mission lacked the resources to expand faster than it did. Such information as is available does not suggest that either the SPG or the government schools were very much better off.

The drastic drop in education income between 1914 and 1920 did not halt the slowly increasing numbers of pupils attending the schools, but prompted the 1916 Provincial Chapter to slash education subsidies so that only eleven schools received central mission aid and the salaries of only fifteen teachers and catechists were subsidized by S$ 120.00 each per annum.[64] This was partly offset by increased government grants, but there remained a short-fall that must have been met from other sources that are not recorded. The increased government grants in Sarawak were paid directly to each school. In North Borneo previous to 1920, only the Sandakan and Jesselton schools were directly government aided, but after 1920 a block grant was paid to the mission for the support of education in native areas.

An interesting unsigned and undated note in the Sarawak Church Archives gives us an insight into early missionary approaches to education and discipline. This note is a list of advisory rules that seek to guide the missionary in his relations with the pupils. What is most striking about this set of rules is the absence of the notion of competitiveness in education. The ideal that is suggested is practical training of future use in life. Discipline must be marked by a gentle reasonableness that respects the rights and feelings of those at

64. SWA-10-33 to 38, The Fifth Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, New Resolutions nos. 2 & 3.
65. SWA-8-1.

fault, and the standards of behaviour expected should be normally Christian and not over saintly or restrictive. In addition to the four Rs : reading, writing, arithmetic and religion, most schools provided instruction in gardening and carpentry. For some time after 1895 St. Joseph's school Kuching taught cobbling and tailoring[66] and in the 1920s there was an industrial school at Mukah.[67] Fr. Jackson thought that the schools should be run by the Brothers and he complained constantly that these were employed in the school only to teach carpentry and gardening,[68] but there never could have been enough Brothers to carry out such a policy. Nevertheless, he declined Mill Hill's offer to send out trained teachers on the grounds that the mission could not pay them enough to retain their services in the face of offers from Far Eastern business and commerce.[69]

The earliest Borneo converts were young men, and so long as the women resisted religious change there could be no hope of establishing Christian families, only the fear that once they were married the young men would lapse back into paganism. For this reason Fr. Jackson sought Sisters who could educate young girls who might become suitable spouses for the young converts. The girls were indeed taught to read and write, but the greater part of their time was spent on acquiring domestic skills such as needle work, laundry, cooking and child care. As late as the 1930s it was still common enough for young men to sue for marriage with girls who had been trained in the convents. The Sisters helped to draw up the marriage contracts and to assess suitable doweries, which were used to provide the brides' trousseaus. These marriage contracts were taken so seriously that it was not unusual for a young husband to return his bride to the convent for further training if her domestic skills did not live up to his expectations.[70] After the Second World War it became more common to give the girls a full academic training, but even then standards of child care in the convent schools' catchment areas were said to be higher than elsewhere in the country.

This early practical bias in education did not cloud the missionaries'appreciation of the need to cater for some form of higher education. At first it was understood that such education should be

66. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p.125.
68. SWA-50196 ff., An Appreciation of Fr. Bernard Mulder and Short History of St. Patrick's School, Mukah, (undated), SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.49, Klerk to v.d. Bergh, 17 March 1926.
68. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp.37/38, Jackson to Dunn, Nov. 1884.
69. MHFA-13-A-18, JAckson to Benoit, 5 Dec. 1881.
70. Interviews with ex-Borneo Sisters, now retired.

independent of the individual mission stations. In 1886 Sir Hugh Low's estate in Labuan was acquired as a preparation for this future need,[71] but it was never used for this purpose, largely because of the mission's constantly vacillating ideas on the function of Labuan. It was geographically the ideal headquarters, but it offered few opportunities for expansion and, though the estate cried out to be used constructively, no effective plan was ever developed for its employment and Labuan never amounted to much more than a station on an island off the coast of the mainland. Apart from the special case of the Mukah industrial school, the 1920s and 1930s saw a shift in the accent of mission education from the practical to the academic and the standards system was implemented. Ordinary station schools provided primary instruction as far as standard 4. Standard 5 education was available in Kuching, Sibu, Jesselton and Sandakan and only Sandakan and Kuching catered for standards 6 and 7. Pupils who wished further education were directed to St. Joseph's Institute, Singapore. This arrangement developed gradually in response to the needs of local business, commerce and government, which required the services of people capable of working as dressers and clerks. The first commercial enterprises to offer such employment were the coal mines at Sadong, Sarawak,[72] and at Selimpupun near Tawau. Employment of Catholics in these concerns did not bring about any real increase in mission influence in commerce and the estates. The labour force was very much in the hands of the Labour contractors who in turn were supposed to be under the control of the Tongs which, Mgr. Dunn argued, always acted as an effective block to Catholic influence.[73]

An outgrowth of the educational work of the mission was the establishment of sports clubs and young men's associations. These clubs were never more than mission appendages that answered the need for healthy recreation and they existed with little or no mission supervision. They were started by the mission, their premises usually belonged to the mission, but their success depended to a large extent on the enthusiasm and organizational ability of the members themselves. The first was the Labuan Seamen's Club and did not have anything to do with education. Started by public subscription in 1883 for the benefit of British seamen on vessels that coaled at Labuan, it became moribund

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72. Fr. Staal's manuscript notes on the history of the Sadong mission, p.2. The first Kuching school boy to become a clerk was Paul Khoo Ah Chit.

73. SWA-2-36, Dunn to the President of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, 26 Aug. 1911.

when the British navy ceased to use Labuan as a coaling station and the mission wished to transfer the premises to other uses. All the original subscribers agreed except one naval officer's widow who asked for her £50 back.[74] Only two of the clubs had any significant social influence, St. Michael's Penampang and St. Michael's Kuching. Like most of the clubs St. Michael's Penampang was so informal that there is no record of when it started, when it flourished and when it waned. It deserves note mainly as the recruiting ground for Donald Stephen's political party, UNKO (United National Kadazan Organization).[75] St. Michael's Kuching had a much steadier career. Its acitivities and competitions with other sports clubs in Kuching were reported regularly in the Sarawak Gazette, its premises were used for official church functions and it played an important part in the social life of the town. All that remains of it today is its canteen, which serves as a coffee shop and soft drinks bar for the youngsters of the district.[76]

Previous to 1940 many mission schools took great pride in the standard of their music instruction and a number had their own bands to play on public occasions. The Kuching band played regularly for state occasions until it was replaced by the Rajah's Manila band. Both Fr. Anthony and Fr. Bernard Mulders composed specially for the Mukah band.[78] The Sandakan band was known as the Blue Boys from the uniform its members wore. Little is known of the Limbahau band except that there was a row when the Japanese tried to steal its instruments in 1944.[78] The reports in the Sarawak Gazette give the impression that some of these bands were very competent, but none of the music they played survives and it is not known if the boasts made for them were at all justified. Simple as it might have been, it is a pity that this musical tradition did not survive into the post-war colonial period.

A subject of some confusion in the history of education in Borneo is the significance of the term "vernacular education". When government sources use the term they mean education through the meduum of Malay. Mission sources use it to mean instruction through the medium of Iban,

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74. Fr. Haidegger published the mission's intentions in the Sarawak Gazette, 24 July 1900. Claims had to be submitted before 31 Dec. 1900. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p.43.
75. Interview with Datuk Herman Luping, March 1979.
76. The Church was looking for a reason to close the club in the early 1970s, when it had fallen on evil days and had gained a bad reputation. The excuse for its closure came when a crime was committed on its premises.
77. Sarawak Gazette, Oct. 1905 (Oya Report). The report lists three Mulders' compositions -- Cut March by A. Mulder, Sarawak Flag by A. Mulder and Souvenir de Dr. Hose by B. Mulder.
78. SBA-4211, Wachter Diary of 20 June 1944.

Kadazan, Melanau, Dayak or any one of a number of Chinese languages. It is impossible to discover exactly when the mission schools transferred from vernacular to English instruction. Certainly until 1900 its education was vernacular in the mission sense, but a 1911 letter to the Sarawak Gazette castigates the mission for its lack of vernacular education.[79] Quite apart from the correspondent's confusion in regarding vernacular as exclusively Malay, the letter tells us that by that time English was the normal medium of instruction in mission schools. Yet Iban and Kadazan were used in lower primary classes at least until 1940. Another confused area concerns the adoption of Mandarin as the standard medium of instruction in the mission's Chinese schools. It seems incredible that no documentation exists to chronicle these important changes, but the writer has failed at any rate to discover any.

The end of the Japanese occupation, during which the mission's education services collapsed completely, was an obvious opportunity to make reforms in the system. The colonial governments did not wish a return to the old system, but they had no immediate plans for any thorough policy changes and all that was immediately noticeable was an increase in government education subisidies. In 1949-50, however, the North Borneo and Sarawak governments commissioned advisory studies which resulted in the McClellan Report for Sarawak and the North Borneo Educatinn Report 1950. The McClellan report advised the Sarawak government to become more involved in secondary education and the implementation of this advice under the directorship of Mr. Murray Dickson restricted the mission's advances into rural secondary education by an administrative opposition which the missinn was largely powerless to resist. The lack of government primary school infra-structure in North Borneo made it undesirable for the North Borneo Education Report to tender the same advice. Instead it suggested a rationalization of education services which wolld have parcelled out to the voluntary agences zones of virtual monopoly of secondary education. The missions, unwilling to accept such restrictions, instigated a press campaign against the report. The accusation that this campaign was a completely phoney Catholic mission machination is probably justified, but no archival evidence can be adduced to sustain it.[80] Governor R.D. Trunbull then set up the North Borneo State Board of Education on which the voluntary bodies had representation, and

79. Sarawak Gazette, Sept. 1911. SWA-4-Steel, v.3 p. 128.
80. The interviewees who provided this information do not wish to be named, but the writer is assured that their testimony is to be trusted.

a certain measure of broad policy cooperation was achieved.[81]

The most important achievements of the Board of Education were the initiation of the Unified Teachers Scheme (UTS) and the implementation of a dollar for dollar subsidy policy towards mission capital expenditure on education. The UTS required the missions to cede to the government all school fees in return for guaranteed equitable teachers' salaries and a capitation grant to cover school administration costs. To promote some form of free education, the missions were permitted to grant remission of fees to up to ten per cent of the pupils and generous native scholarships were awarded to encourage the expansion of native secondary education. By the dollar for dollar subsidy provision the government agreed to pay half the cost of mutually agreed capital expenditure on replacement and expansion of school facilities.[82] The state gained thus a measure of control over school curricula and a speedier cheaper expansion of education services than would have been possible with total government responsibility, but did not gain as much control as some government officers thought desirable. The mission was able to channel funds away from education to other ventures, missionary salaries paid under the scheme helped to wipe out the central mission's debts and brought a new level of stability to the individual mission station's finances, but the door was opened to increasing government interference and there was a temptation for financial benefit to employ in education more missionaries than were really necessary. As the capital support scheme gathered momentum demands for school replacement and expansion outran the mission's capacity to respond and new arrangements had to be negotiated which increased the government's share of capital expenditure on individual projects.[83]

Similar policies were implemented in Sarawak, but capital grant in aid was not so generous and school expansion slower. In 1960 the government of Brunei, in response to certain Islamic pressure groups, discontinued mission school subisdies and the four Catholic schools in the state became private schools. During the 1960s the Sarawak Catholic mission began to open a small number of private schools. The somewhat

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81. In 1954 and ordinance was passed which permitted the setting up of an Educational Advisory Committee; Colonial Report.North Borneo (1955), p.67. This committee became the Board of Education in 1956; Colonial Report. North Borneo (1956), p.69.

82. The enabling legislation for these changes was the Education Ordinance No.9 of 1961; Colonial Report. North Borneo (1961) p.93 and (1962), p.102. The writer taught in and managed schools under this scheme in 1962-66.

83. For a few schools in native areas up to 100% grant was made available.

complex motivation for this move involved a desire to provide the sort of education that was independent of government controls, the need to provide educational opportunities for children who had failed the government common entrance examination, the desirability of providing a counterbalance to the state's heavy stress on English medium education and the satisfaction of a feeling in certain parts of the mission that the mission's previous alignment with English medium education had cut it off from any real influence with the Chinese educated community. The private school in Miri was a special case, an unsuccessful attempt to aid the social adjustment of Chinese youths who had taken to the jungle during the communist emergency.[84] Since the Catholic Chinese medium schools in North Borneo fell within the UTS there was less justification for the mission to enter the private sector of education. Only the SDA schools in North Borneo opted out of the scheme and remained private.

Direct government involvement in the schools occasioned the need actually to formulate religious education policies. Outside observers have often read into the methods in Catholic mission schools a lack of interest in making converts and it is indeed true that general Catholic educational thinking sees schools as supplementary to the Christian influence of the home and never as a substitute for the home's basic religious conditioners. Nevertheless it was always the policy of the Catholic mission to use the schools to promote Christianity, but by gentle non-forceful means. Though the methods might change from school to school the general policy was the same, but it was not until the 1960s that any formulation of rules was deemed necessary. These rules laid down that no non-Catholic pupil need take part in prayers, but all must be encouraged to behave in a demure and respectful manner during prayers. Non-Catholic pupils must have the option to be absent from religious instruction, but they must be kept positively occupied during such absence.[85]

Although it was accepted as inevitable that the coming of Malaysia would bring about substantial changes in the education system, there were no immediately noticeable changes during the middle 1960s. There was indeed some surprise at the speed with which senior education posts were parcelled out to West Malaysians and, as will be illustrated in Chapter Six, some fears were expressed regarding the interpretation of paragraphs 36 and 38 of the Akta Pelajaran 1961. The implementation

84. Interviews with the Marist Brothers in Sibu, the principals of St. Patrick's and St. Theresa's schools in Kuching and the bishop's secretary, Miri, February and March 1979.

85. SBA-1-317, Directives regarding Prayers and Catechetical Instruction in relation to non-Catholic Pupils, August 1964.

of the act in the Borneo states occasioned some minor disagreement over the timetable of the changes, but, though it might be argued that the changes in Sabah showed more concern for party political considerations than the good of the school system,[86] Sarawak with its very slow rate of change could be accused of dragging its feet. The missions were, however, gravely concerned with paragraphs 36 and 38.[87]

> 36(a) Where in any school in receipt of grant in aid there are fifteen or more pupils professing the Islamic religion, such pupils will be instructed in the tenets of that religion by teachers approved by the State authority...
> 38 The committee of management or other persons responsible as the case may be, may provide for the instruction of the pupils in the school, or any of them, in a religion other than the Islamic religion provided that:
> (a) no such provision shall be defrayed from monies provided by the parliament;
> (b) no pupil shall attend instruction in a religion other than that which he professes, except with the written consent of his parents.

These provisions of the Act, not applied to Sarawak until 1975, but already in view in 1963, need not in 1963 have caused trouble to the mission. For a significant part of the school finances at that time came from school fees and were, therefore, not provided by the parliament. When, however, during the late 1960s and early 1970s free education was introduced, some education officers interpreted the law in such a way that Christian religious instruction could be given by the teachers, but only outside school hours. It might be argued nevertheless that the intention of the Act was to insure that Muslim pupils were instructed in their religion, not to discriminate against Christian religious instruction in schools. This is the state of confusion at the time of writing and there are few indications of positive moves to clarify the situation.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the mission schools during the hundred years considered here. In Chapter Four something has been said about their religious impact. Though they have made little contribution to the development of educational theory, and the quality of education varied from the primitive to the ordinarily good, they have contributed in the broader social spectrum to the creation of professional classes, capable of handling the intricacies of modern economics, medicine and government. They have also influenced the rise of what might be termed a middle class in Borneo society, but this middle class lacks firmness in so far as it owes its prominence to skills and not to property held over generations.

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86. SBA-1-321 to 326, Chief Minister's address to the Board of Education, Kota Kinabalu, 15 Sept. 1969.
87. Akta Pelajaran (1961), Sarawak Education Dept. edition, 1 Jan. 1976.

(iv)

Fr. Jackson's letters of the 1880s suggest that he regarded education as an end in itself and that it should be pursued for no other motive than personal improvement,[88] but it soon became evident that early Borneo mission education was being conducted in a vacuum. The skills, aptitudes and attitudes that were acquired in the schools, and the religion some pupils embraced, could easily atrophy and die once the pupil returned to the unstable life of the longhouse. The Iban wanderlust, about which Rajah Charles Brooke tried without success to legislate,[89] would in the end reap benefit for the mission, but in the 1880s this was an unsuspected gift of the future. The mission was convinced that progress could be achieved only by bringing some stability into Iban life.[90]

The first move in this direction was an attempt to establish Christian villages, for which Rajah Charles Brooke ceded large amounts of land. The experiment required the introduction of changes in the longhouse economy that would replace the traditional practice of shifting cultivation, sometimes referred to as "burn and plant". The mission's first attempt at doing this aimed at the introduction of wet padi cultivation and became known as the "buffalo scheme". Kadazan demonstrators were persuaded to come down from Papar and buffaloes were introduced first from North Borneo and later from Limbang.[91] It is difficult to calculate exactly how much was spent on the scheme during the ten or fifteen years that it operated or to assess its effectiveness. It was dogged by disappointment and disaster from beginning to end. The Kadazan buffalo minders and cultivators succumbed to homesickness and took to the bottle.[92] Buffaloes died and were replaced. The logistics of moving cattle into the interior involved the joint efforts of the Papar, Labuan and Kuching missions, efforts that became increasingly irksome causes of friction and disagreement. Eventually the missionaries transferred their attentions to coffee cultivation both as a means of financing the mission and as an economic foundation for the Christian villages that they sought to set up. In the great enthusiasm that reigned until the bottom fell out of the coffee market, the Sarawak government encouraged the mission's coffee ventures and did its best to provide technical advice and assistence.[93]

88. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 28-29, Jackson to Dunn, January 1884.
89. Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels, pp. 247-82.
90. See footnote no.2 above.
91. SWA-3-Staal v.2 pp. 96 ff.
92. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p.92.
93. SWA-3-Staal v.2 pp. 90,118,129.

The missionary correspondence of this period with its wisecracks about coffee pulpers suggests that the current missionary vice was chewing tobacco.[94] Coffee cultivation achieved a reasonable success despite the collapse of coffee prices in the late 1890s, but when this collapse occurred mission resources were slowly transferred to the rubber production that became the staple of mission finances until the 1930s. Yet rubber had very little impact on the development of Christian villages since by the time it was introduced the idea of Christian villages had already been shelved.

Economic thinking in the Borneo missions was always overshadowed by the need to be self-financing, an ideal situation that seemed for ever to fade into the unforeseeable future. Money was invested in Kuching property, in rice mills and saw mills on the Rejang, in rubber and pepper gardens. In 1905 Mill Hill provided the mission with a benefice of £10,000, a large sum for those days.[95] The needs always outstripped the resources and neither the Sarawak nor the North Borneo missions could see beyond their immediate necessities to realize the missionary importance of improving the economic position of the people. The insights of the early missionaries had been basically sound and might have produced excellent results if they had been pursued with more vigour and determination. The Sarawak mission tried and failed. The North Borneo mission failed even to attempt approaches that were based on the economic betterment of the broadest social stratum of the people.

The world wide efforts to repair the economies that had been shattered by the Second World War, and the post-war movements towards decolonization, highlighted the need to build truly viable economic infrastructures in the developing nations. In response to this need a host of development agencies and foundations were set up as sources and channels of aid. There were Caritas Internationalis, MISSIO, Misereor, Catholic Relief Services, Cafod and a large number of government and semi-government agencies through which aid might be sought and obtained. The Borneo missions did not at first take much advantage of these resources, but by the middle of the 1960s moves to channel this aid through the missions were so strong that the Mill Hill missionaries, London, had already set up four development offices with the task of coordinating and funding Mill Hill mission efforts throughout the world. These offices were placed so as to be in close contact with the development agencies in Germany, the Netherlands, United Kingdom and North America. The missionary catch

94. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p. 62.
95. MHFA-CB 18- 55ato 55c. The original memorandum was on 20 Oct. 1905, but the contract was not signed until 5 July 1906.

phrase which described the rationale for such initiatives was the "socio-economic approach". For it was believed that there is a certain level of economic welfare beneath which religion becomes a practical irrelevance and the achievement of at least this level of economic wellbeing is recognized as a missionary goal. In the context of such developments it was fortunate that the Borneo governments had accepted greater responsibility for educational services. The new enthusiasms made it almost impossible in the 1960s to collect funds externally for educational work on the missions and even for catechist training programmes or for the building of churches or chapels.

Two Catholic organizations were set up to coordinate developments in Borneo, the Sarawak Catholic Welfare Association and the Sabah Catholic Welfare Association. The Sarawak association under Fr. H. v. Erp and Mrs. M. Chang concentrated its efforts of traditional charity concerns, care of the poor, the sick, the destitute old and orphans. There was little socio-economic approach except in Serian and in the Baram district. Probably the largest single aid programme with which both associations were involved was the Bulgur Wheat Programme. From 1962 onwards through the Catholic Relief Services of America the welfare associations gained large quantities of surplus American wheat, vegetable oil and milk powder. These were distributed through the schools and through government and mission dispensaries. Sometimes the goods were simply distributed to the needy and sometimes they were used to provide school meal services.[96] Only in one station were the benefits tied to any work by the beneficiaries. Fr. J. Haas in Bundu Kuala Penyu used the supplies to persuade local people to build simple roads to connect the villages with the main government road that was under construction from Beaufort to Kuala Penyu.[97] It would be easy to write off the Bulgur Wheat Programme as just another hand-out, a drop in the ocean of want that solved few problems. Though it did help many people in need, it was not very popular with the missionaries. For, despite the care they took to make the distributions through as many non-religious aid organizations as possible, there was always the danger that the programme would align the mission in the popular mind with a foreign power[98] and the aid might be associated with religious practice. There was a further difficulty in that missionaries found it

96. In 1964-65 when the writer was manager of the mission schools in the Penampang district, the mission organized mid-morning meals in the primary schools of the district.
97. Interview with Fr. J. Haas, December 1978.
98. The bags and containers were all stamped with an American shield and the words : " A gift from the people and the govenrment of the U.S.A."

hard often enough to distinguish between the needy and the greedy. Finally, the standards of administration required by the Catholic Relief Services were such as would take the missionary away from tasks that were his more vital concern.

In a 1954-5 document from the West Coast Residency of North Borneo it is pointed out that the Catholic mission showed little concern for rural development.[99] The mission's first major response to this criticism was the opening in 1955 of the Bundu Tuhan agricultural mission. Fr. W. Roetenberg, who had already shown a certain bent for this type of work, was appointed Rector of the mission and first director of the project. His assistants were two Brothers, Br. Benedict Snoeren, a carpenter and mechanic, and Br. John Hoekstra, a market gardener who had received special training in tea planting. None of the team had any very clear idea of how the project would develop or the difficulties to be faced and it was only by trial and error that they discovered approaches that could be helpful to the local people.[100] The core of the project was the establishment of cooperative commercial market gardening and also a small carpenters' and builders' cooperative. Poorly financed in the beginning, it received in 1957 substantial funds from the Dutch Bishops' Lenten appeal and from the FFHC (Australian Freedom from Hunger Campaign).[101] At later stages it was funded by a number of international aid organizations, but it is now almost independent of external support. Its immediate social impact was at two levels, the group of 25 families who formed the core of the mission controlled training group and cooperative and a number of about 150 families who observed and tried out the techniques they saw were successful on the mission.[102]

After the project had been in operation for eight years, Fr. Roetenberg evaluated it on the basis of the Niehoff-Anderson sociological variables.[103] Before accepting his evaluation we must have some idea of how the Niehoff-Anderson variables operate. Their fundamental assumption is that any social project achieves its ends by becoming integrated in the local social setting. From another angle, the type of success that a social project achieves is defined by the degree of acceptance that the

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99. Refer Chapter Six, footnote no.99.
100. J.W. Roetenberg, "The Adaptation Process in an Agricultural Development Project in Sabah (Borneo), Malaysia", (53 page typescript, undated), p. 12.
101. Ibid., p.14.
102. Ibid., p.16.
103. A.H. Niehoff and J.C. Anderson, The Primary Variables in Directed Cross-Cultural Change (Alexandria Va., 1965) and C.M. Arensberg and A.H. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change. A Manual for Americans Overseas (Chicago, 1965).

that the local community gives it. There are two sets of influences that act on the project as it reaches towards this level of integration, the behaviour of the innovator and the behaviour of the recipient; in our case the Catholic mission and the people of Bundu Tuhan. The success of project can be hindered or helped by the behaviour of the innovator or the recipient and the Niehoff-Anderson research has isolated eight sets of significant innovator behaviour variables and nine sets of recipient behaviour variables. These sets divide themselves into forty seven separate influence factors and the inter-relation of these variables brings about the sort o success that the project achieves.

Fr. Roetenberg's analysis [104] indicates three basic local needs that required project solution - commercially viable cash crops, technical training to achieve successful commercial agriculture and effective guidance on marketing procedures and distribution. The commercially viable cash crops chosen by the project were mild vegetables such as cabbages, leeks, tomatoes and potatoes. The training programme gave guidance on water control and terracing, the use of greenhouses that could be constructed locally and of pest controls, modern gardening techniques, poultry raising, building and carpentry. Marketing was catered for by the cooperative. The content of the training programme developed in response to local demands and experience. The two most important innovator behaviour contributions were the tenacity of purpose shown by the team in its approach to problem solving and its insistence that the local language be used at all levels of communication. The mission controlled training group did not develope the expected leadership skills, but showed some signs of becoming a local quasi-middle class. Leadership qualities were most evident among the independent growers, a factor which suggests that the mission's contribution at this level was not very important. A proper assessment of the project's social impact must take note of other important contemporary social innovators, notably the government Kundasan agricultural experimental station and the contruction of the Tamparuli-Ranau road which became a focal point of most local redevelopment. Yet the mission scheme was a large contributer to the improved economic well-being of the district.

The Bundu Tuhan porject, quite apart from its local success, provided the mission with its first experience of dealing with the international development agencies. In Sabah a number of other projects, minor agricultural and medical projects, had a certain limited success and the Beaufort experiment in technical school education looked as though it

104. What follows is a summary of Fr. Roetenberg's findings.

it might be very successful indeed.[105], but the Mustapha expulsions removed from these projects the possibility of continued supervision which had proved so important in the early stages of the Bundu Tuhan project. The Baram socio-economic projects, initiated under the direction of Bishop Galvin, have not been under way long enough for us to be able to judge their effectiveness. A factor that has contributed to their slow effect has been the very poor public communications in the Baram district.

The basic insights of the mission into the socio-economic needs of Borneo have seldom been other than sound, but its only real success in the field was the Bundu Tuhan agricultural project. The lack of vigour of the early missions in pursuit of such projects may be excused by their chronic lack of funds. Later contributors to this lack of success have been the missionary expulsions which removed the possibility of adequate supervision of projects, and the poverty of public communications which slowed up the effectiveness of some of them.

(v)

Canon 139 (2) of the Code of Canon Law forbids priests to practise medicine or surgery. Commentators have noted that the same canon forbids them to plead at the bar or to act as criminal or civil judges, and they have pointed out that the justification for these exclusions is that the law regards as unsuitable for priests any profession the practice of which might lead to death, the same justification as is used to forbid military chaplains to carry arms. No early documents admit officially that the Fathers practised medicine, thus avoiding uncomfortable explanations to the Roman congregations. The practice of medicine in contravention of the official rules followed from the natural link which native attitudes saw between religion and medicine. For a large part of pagan religious practice concerns itself with medicine, fertility and death.

The early missionary was expected to do some doctoring and help cope with the cholera, dysentery and malaria which were recurrent scourges in late nineteenth century Borneo. The poverty of the basic first aid training that was provided at Mill Hill was recognized and new missionaries were required to break their journey in Singapore, where they walked the wards in an attempt to gain some knowledge of

105. This project was in a well advanced planning stage in 1970 and financial support had already been found when Fr. B. Walther had to leave the mission. Without his drive only the first stages of the project were carried into effect.

of what was required of them.[106] Fr. Jackson was never sympathetic to this training which, he remarked scornfully, " did not make doctors of them";[107] but the Sarawak government welcomed the little medical work that the missionaries could do and provided subsidies in the form of free medicine for distribution to the natives.[108] every new missionary was expected to bring with him a basic medical kit,[109] but nobody ever thought to write down the treatments that were actually given to the sick. The only writing from Borneo Catholic mission sources that comes anywhere near being described as a medical treatise is a set of notes which have survived the Batu Lintang internment camp and are preserved in the Roosendaal archives of the Mill Hill Misionaries. This set of notes lists herbs available in Borneo which, the anonymous writer claims, have certain medical qualities akin to those of a number of European preparations; the writer has no means of assessing the value of these notes. There are indications, however, that the medical ministrations of the missionaries were very much appreciated and Fr. Dunn complains in 1886 that they had come to be valued more as doctors than as priests.

Fr. Dunn realized early that there was a great need for much more systematic medical attention and as early as 1886 he placed a request before Fr. Jackson that the mission should build and equip a hospital in the Rejang. Fr. Jackson accepted the logic of his request, but did not see his way to finding the money necessary for such a project. Fr. Dunn did not give up easily and we find that one of his first acts when he succeeded Fr. Jackson as superior was to request that Mill Hill send out a medically trained Brother who would begin orgaizing mission medical services; but his request could not be met.[110] The first hospital in Kanowit, a gift from a Dr. Green, was not actually built until 1923.[111] In missions which had the services of Sisters medical work moved gradually out of the priests' hands. It became customary to keep a small rest house to accomodate the sick who had come from afar or who had to be sent on to the government hospital for treatment beyond the mission's facilities. The rest houses which developed later into cottage hospitals and maternity units were at Kanowit, Kuching, Mukah,

106. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p.11. Fr. Staal quotes extracts from LETTERS by Fr. Jackson and Fr. Goossens objecting to the practice.
107. Ibid.
108. The government was quite willing to provide the medicine, but was quite stingy about medicine bottles. We learn about the government medicine subsidies from postscript reminders in letters to send down the medicine bottles for re-filling.
109. MHFA-13-*-26, Dunn to Pundleider, undated, probably 1882.
110. This is reported in St. Joseph's Advocate of 1896, but the original letter seems not to have survived.
111. SWA-4-Staal v.4 p.33.

Penampang and Tobo-Tambunan. The Sisters did not confine themselves to work in the dispensaries and cottage hospitals, but visited the longhouses and kampongs to nurse the sick and give instruction in general hygiene and child care.

Medical work was always the Cinderella of the mission's services and rarely had sufficient funds to provide more than the very simplest care. As government sevices improved those of the mission had no choice but to close. For rural communities could not afford private medicine and it was pointless for the mission to duplicate services already adequately provided by the government. The only Christian missionary group WHICH provided better medical services than the Catholic mission was the Methodist mission in the Upper Rejang which built and financed a well equipped hospital at Kapit. The Methodists too felt obliged by changing circumstances to hand their hospital over to the government in the early 1970s.

A factor which hindered the expansion of mission medical services was the lack of trained personnel. There were many trained nurses and midwives among the Sisters, but no doctors. The Sisters' work was supplemented by that of lay volunteers who came to Borneo to work for shorter or longer periods. Some of these were doctors, but they were mostly trained general nurses and midwives. The most colourful personality among these volunteers was Dr. Lynn Cooper, grandson of James Fenimore Cooper, who gave up a wealthy New York practice to dedicate himself to the service of the poor, first in China, later in Ghana and finally in Kanowit. In the early 1950s he arrived in the Rejang and visited the Kanowit mission, apparently a typical world traveller, full of informed curiosity and particularly interested in the medical work of the mission. A year later he arrived again, this time with all his luggage, and asked if he might work as mission doctor. All he asked in return was a place to stay, a little 20ft. x 10ft. hut. An agnostic, he chose to work in the Catholic mission for purely philantropic reasons and because his previous experience with Catholic hospitals had led him to expect respect as a person and no great curiosity about his past. The personal tragedy, if there was any, that led him to give up his New York practice and exchange his Waldorf Astoria suite for a hut in the jungle remains a secret. He worked quietly at Kanowit for just over three years. He paid his own expenses and the only indication he ever gave that he was more than a moderately wealthy man concerned a little Iban boy he met weeping one day outside the mission. The boy wanted to go to school, but could not be admitted because there was no room for him. Dr. Cooper made inquiries

about the case and, when he discovered that the school lacked the funds to make the extensions that were necessary, he wrote out a cheque immediately to cover the cost. In 1958 he died of encephalytis, caught from one of his patients, and was buried at Kanowit. In his memory the Cooper Foundation of America built at Kanowit the Dr. Lynn Cooper Memorial Hospital, served today by the Little Sisters of Sarawak.[112]

A post-war association which is often erroneously attributed to the Catholic mission was NOBATA (North Borneo Anti-Tuberculosis Association), later renamed SABATA when North Borneo became Sabah. This was not strictly a Catholic mission initiative nor even a Church initiative, but simply an association of concerned persons, the leaders being Mr. D. Spradbrow, Fr. JW. Roetenberg and Mrs. Goode.[113] Its achievements were the building of the Jesselton T.B. hospital, a T.B. ambulance service and the setting up and maintenance of a resthouse for outpatients who had to come from great distances for treatment. It was also the first such association to employ B.C.G. testing[114] or pre-diagnosis tuberculosis tests. The colonial government disagreements with the association over a licence to import anti-tuberculosis medicines led Fr. Roetenberg in 1955 to resign his secretaryship of NOBATA. The association did not claim any religious affiliation, but had sufficiently close Anglican-Catholic participation to merit being called the first important ecumenical association in Borneo.[115]

The 1970s saw a contraction of mission medical work which arose for two main reasons. The first was the Malaysian government's expansion of medical services which made some of the mission's services out of date or superfluous. The second was the missionary expulsions from Sabah and the 1972 withdrawal of the White Sisters from Sarawak, which stripped the missinn cottage hospitals of their trained staff. The Blue Sisters and the Sisters of Sarawak were not at that time capable of taking over all the work and some services had to be discontinued or handed over to the government medical department. Since then local Sisters have concentrated on work in kindergartens and crèche schools.

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112. Interview with Fr. G. Bruggeman, Kanowit February 1979. See also J. Heery,"Greater Love", Missions and Missionaries, Autumn (1976), pp.10-11.
113. When I inquired about the initial of this lady, all I was told was that she was not the wife of Governor Sir William Goode.
114. B.C.G. = Bacile bilié de Calmeyye-Guérin.
115. Interview with Fr. Roetenberg, December 1978.

CHAPTER SIX

C H U R C H A N D S T A T E

The role of the Church as a community in the State is defined largely by her need to stand apart from party politics but also for the sake of her effectiveness to come to terms with the political realities of any given time and situation. It plays this role sometimes by ignoring the State and sometimes by working hand in glove with it. Its ideal is always feeedom and independence of action within the context of a certain politico-religious friendliness and mutual respect.

As early as 1870 Fr. H. Vaughan began to assess the sort of political welcome that his missionaries might expect in Borneo. His first approach was to his cousin, James Pope-Hennessy, Governor of Labuan from 1869, who replied enthusiastically that the mission would find in Borneo a fruitful field of work among the non-Muslim peoples, that its approach should aim at providing education with a strong industrial and practical bias and that it should seek to meet its local costs by setting itself up as a producer of the sort of agricultural produce that would find a ready market in Singapore and Hong Kong.[1] We have seen that the 1869-70 negotiations for the Mill Hill mission fell through more on account of ecclesiastical than political considerations. Although Rajah James Brooke had invited Mgr. S. Reina, Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong to send Italian missionaries to Sarawak,[2] there was some doubt concerning the attitude of Rajah Charles Brooke. In 1880 it was strongly rumoured that Ranee Margaret of Sarawak had serious leanings towards Catholicism, but some years were to pass before she entered the Church.[3] In May 1877, when Mgr. C. Cuarteron requested that he might post an Augustinian priest to Sarawak, Rajah Charles Brooke's reply was diplomatic, but unwelcoming.[4] Yet, when on 18 June 1880 Herbert Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, wrote directly to Rajah Charles, he received a favourable reply.[5] The Rajah stipulated that he himself would direct the missionaries to suitable areas of work where

1. MHFA-13-4 to 4b, Pope-Hennessy to Vaughan, 8 Aug 1870.
2. AP Oceania 11/2, p. 1833, Rodway to Mackay, 15 Oct. 1875.
3. Ibid. See also note no. 26 and related discussion.
4. AP Oceania 11/2 pp. 1313-4, Cuarteron to C. Brooke and vice versa, 1 and 8 May 1877.
5. C. Brooke to Vaughan, 13 Aug. 1880. Sarawak Museum Collection.

there would be no danger of conflict with the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and he stated that it would be " undesirable to endeavour to convert the Mahommetan and it would prove only fruitless"[6] Since the future of what was to become the Chartered Company of North Borneo was at that time very uncertain and neither Bishop Vaughan nor Fr. Benoit had any very clear idea of its status, arrangements for the establishment of the mission in the northern part of Borneo were left to Fr. Jackson when he had arrived and had been able to assess the local situation. Even before 1 June 1882, when the company recognized the mission officially, its officers were generally helpful and cooperative.[7] The Court of Directors, in accepting the mission, stated the policy that there must be no mission interference with the Muslim peoples and suggested that the mission confine its labours to the interior.[8] There is some doubt concerning the significance of the term "natives of the interior", whether it is to be interpreted by location or simply as a blanket term for non-Muslim peoples.[9] This doubt is not cleared up by the reference the Company dispatch makes to paragraph 5 of dispatch no. 46 of 1881. For the only surviving copy of this dispatch is badly mildewed and almost indecipherable. It is clear, however, that the governments of Sarawak and North Borneo welcomed the new Catholic mission,but with some reservations.

Propaganda was at first not entirely satisfied with the Sarawak and North Borneo approvals. The Benoit proposals of June 1878 had declared that the Mill Hill Missionaries would be responsible for missions to the whole of Borneo and to New Guinea if necessary. They defined the area of initial immediate responsibility as Labuan, Brunei and Sarawak, and they suggested that the Dutch members of the Mill Hill society might extend the work into Dutch Borneo.[10] These proposals were re-affirmed in Fr. Benoit's interviews with Cardinal Simeoni on 12 and 13 June 1878.[11] Once the mission had extended itself beyond Labuan, Brunei and Sarawak into North Borneo, it must have seemed evident to Propaganda that an entry into Kalimantan would soon follow. In November 1884 Mgr Jacobini questioned Fr. Jackson about his intentions with regard to Dutch Borneo. He

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6. Ibid.
7. Chartered Company Dispatch No. 9, June 1882 and MHFA-13-A Witti to Jackson letters.
8. Chartered Company Dispatch ut supra No.9 and MHFA-13-B-22, Rutherford Alcock to Jackson, 1 June 1882.
9. The interpretation "by location" sounds untenable if one notes that Witti, Pryer and Pretyman had shown that the interior was empty of population. Tregonning, Modern Sabah, p. 129.
10. AP Oceania 11/2, pp. 1828-33.
11. AP Acta, v. 246 (1878), ff. 650-3.

pressed for mission expansion into those areas not yet officially taken over by the Dutch, but Fr. Jackson declined on the plea that " the Dutch Government could not be expected to allow such a thing"[12]. Since the governments of North Borneo and Sarawak were never informed of this proposal any assessment of their attitudes to it can only be conjectural. Throughout the history of the mission Propaganda repeatedly suggested that the Mill Hill mission should extend itself into Dutch Borneo and each such suggestion was rejected. The final such proposal came from Indonesia's first Papal Internuncio, the Belgian Count Mgr G. de Jonghe d'Ardoye. He summoned all the Vicars Apostolic of Borneo to a meeting in Pantianak from 20 to 23 September 1952. They were to discuss the desirability of establishing a new ecclesiastical province that would have embraced the whole of the island of Borneo and was to be designated . the Ecclesiastic Province of Borneo Antara. All the Vicars Apostolic, with the exception of Mgr Jan Groen of Banjirmasin, attended the meeting and wrote to advise the Internuncio and Propaganda that the projected ecclesiastical province of Borneo Antara would be politically disastrous.[13] Mill Hill involvement in Indonesian Borneo did not come until 1973, but this invovlement, though a result of events in Sabah, had no direct connection with the East Malysian Church.[14]

Though the mission accepted the government stipulations concerning work among the Muslim peoples, the policy was more easily applied in Sarawak than in North Borneo. Sarawak Muslims generally populate the coastal areas, though not all of Sarawak's coastal peoples are Muslims. The Muslim influence on the peoples of the interior was generally negative in the sense that the Muslim convert came to be regarded as a member of the Malay race and lost his tribal identity. The Muslim and non-Muslim peoples of North Borneo could not easily be categorized in the same way, but the loss of tribal identity, though less immediate, was just as certain eventually. If the mission had complied exactly with the letter of the Chartered Company intruction, its work would have implied the division and extinction of the Kadazan people. The Chartered Company was either ignorant of the social factors involved or it chose to ignore them and the Kadazans of Bundu, Papar and Putatan were placed under Muslim headmen who tried to behave as had their predecessors, the Brunei

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12. SWA-3-Staal v 1 p.35.
13. The letter is reproduced in the 1955 quinquennial report of the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontianak, pp. 101 ff.
14. In 1973 a team of four Mill Hill Missionaries who had been expelled from Sabah went to assist the Capuchin missionaries in Pontianak.

Pengulus. The result was extortion and intimidation, evils against which the early missionaries to the Kadazan, notably Fr. A. Goossens and Fr.F. Duxneuner, decided to fight.[15]

(ii)

The early days of the mission were a time of contacts and exploration. Fr. Goossens explored Upper Sarawak, Fr. Dunn the Rejang, Fr. D. Kilty Labuan and Papar, and Fr. Jackson himself coordinated their efforts and did some exploration of his own, especially in the Tampasuk and Tegiambur areas.[16] Progress depended very much on the friendships the missionaries struck up with government officers they met on the way. Neither Fr Goocssens not Fr. Kilty showed any genius for such fiendships, but both Fr. Jackson and Fr Dunn found themselves being pressed by local government officers to found msssions in their territories. Not all of these invitations could be accepted immediately nor was the approval of such government officers sufficient to clear away all obstacles; but they facilitated easy unofficial agreements which served very well. Only such matters as land titles needed full official action. The Sarawak government was usually very generous with land grants. The Chartered Company, while not over generous, seldom made difficulties about mission land tenure, but some individual government officers, such as C.R. Smith and D. Maxwell Hall could be very awkward at times.

The first problem requiring official solution was the matter of the Cuarteron estate. When Mgr. C. Cuarteron died intestate in Cadiz sometime in 1880,[17] the Colonial Secretary of Labuan, W.H. Treacher, approached the local Catholics to discover what should be done with the Labuan mission property. All this property was regarded as Mgr. Cuarteron's personal estate and two sets of people had claims. A group of Filipinos who had lived with Mgr. Cuarteron regarded themselves as his family and heirs,[18] but the explorer F. Witti informed the Colonial Secretary that the priest was survived by two brothers, one in Cadiz and one an Augustinian Friar in Manila.[19] The estate should be kept intact until the claims of these brothers had been met. When Fr. Kilty arrived in Labuan, Witti affirmed in a written statement that the expressed wish of the deceased was that his Labuan property be used for the benefit of

15. SWA-7-261, Annual Report to Propaganda, 1886. See also British Parliamentary Papers, v.33 (1920), p.699, Intervention of O.T. Raymond.
16. MHFA-13-A-9, Jackson to Benoit, 27 Aug. 1881.
17. MHFA-13-A- unnumbered, Witti to Kilty, 3 Dec., 1881.
18. MHFA-13-A-14 to 14a, Jackson to Benoit, 15 Oct 1881.
19. See no. 16 supra, Witti to Kilty.

the Catholic Church.[20] Although Witti's document was legally without value, Treacher regarded as a forgery the letter which was presented by the Filipino group, which they claimed was authorization from Mgr. Cuarteron's brother in Manila that they should claim the property.[21] The mission was awarded both the movable and the immovable property, but only after the belongings of Mgr. Cuarteron had been put up for public auction and the property had dwindled to a few hundred dollars, a yacht and some coconut trees.[22]

A row flared up meanwhile in the Rejang. The Resident of Sibu, J.B.Low, son of Governor Sir Hugh Low of Malaya, advised Fr Dunn to set up his mission at Sari near the mouth of the river.[23] When it was learned that the Rajah was angry about this, Fr Jackson ordered Fr. Dunn to proceed up to Kapit and forbade him to visit Sari.[24] Then the SPG missionary, the Rev. G. Bywater, moved into Sari to take advantage of the Catholic mission's embarrassment.[25] Fr. Jackson removed his restrictions on Fr Dunn and complained to the Rajah. The three cornered row that broke out then between the Rajah, Fr. Jackson and Bishop C. Hose was settled eventually by the government agreeing tacitly to a Catholic mission presence at Sari. It was to prove a heartbreak of a mission until it was closed finally by Fr. A. Stotter in 19??.

The November 1885 report in the Tablet of the meeting of the Council of St. Joseph's Society discussed the Marquis of Ripon's willingness to provide ploughs Fr. Dunn had requested for Kanowit., When the Marquis asked for information on the soil of Sarawak, Ranee Margaret, also present at the meeting, promised to find out what was necessary, but Fr. Jackson commented : " The good lady will, of course, ask the Rajah who will likely say:"oh the soil is so rich that ploughs are superfluous" ".[26] This seems to have been what happened. For there is no record that the Marquis of Ripon's ploughs ever arrived. The siginificance of the Ranee's presence at the meeting was at first lost on Fr. Jackson. He did not realize that by that time she had become a Catholic or that her conversion had led almost to a break-up of her marriage with the Rajah.[27]. It presented problems to Fr. Jackson as well as the Sarawak government. If on her return to Sarawak she attended Sunday Mass, the Chinese might be expected to try

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20. Ibid.
21. MHFA HCV No.178, Vaughan to Benoit, 30 Sept. 1881.
22. MHFA-13-A-17, Jackson to Benoit, 19 Nov. 1881.
23. MHFA-13-A- 28 to 28b, Dunn to Benoit, 30 Sept. 1881.
24. SWA-3-Steel v.1 p.8.
25. SWA-3-Steel v.1 p.12.
26. SWA-3-Steel v.1 pp. 80-81.
27. MHFA-13-B-14a, Margaret Brooke to Lady Herbert of Lea, undated, but listed in MHFA 188? section.

to influence the Rahah through her. The Rajah could not allow his consort to become publicly aligned with a small section of the Sarawak community. If she did not go to Mass, grave scandal would be caused to the Catholic community.[28] The Ranee attempted a solution to this problem by engaging for herself the services of a French chaplain who could, she informed the Rajah, act as tutor to the Rajah's boys.[29] The Rajah was totally opposed to this idea and invited Fr. Jackson to provide a French tutor for the boys. Later when the Rajah heard his plans being discussed he thought that Fr Jackson had broken his confidence, but subsequently discovered that his valet was in the habit of reading and discussing his mail. The offending servant was dimissed and Fr. Jackson restored to favour. The solution to the Ranee's problem was that she should fulfil her Sunday obligation by attending Mass privately in the Sisters' convent.[30] In this matter the Rajah treated his wife very much as he treated his officers. He did not really mind how they behaved, provided they acted privately. When the Catholic mission archives refer to the private lives of the government officers of Sarawak the references are usually more titillating than informative. When, for example, Mr J.B. Low became a Catholic, Fr. Jackson remarked that he had always thought him to be "just like the rest of them".[31] We realize what this means when we recall the furore caused by Bishop C. Hose's sermon,reported in Singapore, in which the bishop stated that the immorality of the Rajah's officers was the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity. The Kuching community was so incensed by this that they refused to go to church for several months.[32]

One of the lesser known effects of the Rajah's benign, but rather interfering interest in the Catholic mission was his insistence that Mill Hill obtained permission from Rome for the missionaries to wear white instead of black.[33] He achieved thus a minor victory for common sense and a major contribution to missionary hygiene. The only serious interference by the Ranee into mission business was to help block Fr. Jackson's first attempt to resign. The most vexatious of the Rajah's interferences arose from his insistence that the opening of each new station required his personal permit. His doubts about the Melanau mission, for example, forced the mission there to be opened at the Cut. Only when the Cut mission proved a success did he permit a change to Mukah and Dalat. The transfer

28. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 83-84.
29. Ibid.
30. SWA-3-Staal v.1 p 93.
31. SWA-3-Staal v.1 pp. 106,109.
32. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p.6. Sarawak Gazette, Sept., Nov. 1888, and Feb. 1889
33. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p. 159.

was effected by dismantling all the buildings at the Cut and re-assembling them at Mukah,[34] an expense that the mission could ill-afford.

(iii)

The first major disagreement between the Chartered Company of North Borneo and the Catholic mission concerned a Sandakan school boy named Lam Kam Hong. He and his sister had attended St. Mary's school as day scholars, but in 1892, when their mother died, they were placed in the school as boarders. Their father, Lam Kai Yip, promised, but rarely managed, to pay $3.00 per month for their maintenance. In April 1893 when Lam Kam Hong asked for baptism, Fr. J. Verbrugge sent HIM to ask his father's permission, but Lam Kam Hong refused his father's invitation to offer incense at his mother's shrine; he was thrashed severely and no permission for baptism was granted. Each time the boy went to visit his father he returned to the school beaten and severely bruised. After Lam Kai Yip sold his thirteen year old daughter to a Sandakan brothel owner, Lam Kam Hong refused to go home at all and refused even to perform the traditional kow tow at Chinese New Year. Fr. Verbrugge, deciding that the boy was in real danger from his father, asked Fr. Jackson to take him to Kuching. On 12 May Fr. Verbrugge was summoned to the court and Fr. Jackson was charged with criminally kidnapping the boy. The cases were heard at the end of May and judgement was given in favour of the two priests. Although the charge of kidnapping could not be sustained because of the lack of the use of force in the removal of the boy from Sandakan, it is odd that a fourteen year old boy should not be returned to his father. The court decided that Fr. Jackson must present the boy to some North Borneo court so that his willingness to stay with the mission could be legally ascertained. The only possible clue to the decision is in Fr. Jackson's submission to the court that the boy enjoyed the protection of the Rajah of Sarawak.[35] It is conceivable that the Chartered Company might have been anxious to avoid any addition to its normal troubles with Sarawak.

The general policy of the Chartered Company towards the Catholic mission was conditioned by its attitude to education. It approved education for Chinese and other races, but it regarded education of natives

34. SWA-3-Staal v.2 p. 157.
35. J. Verbrugge, "The Chinese Child Confessor", St. Joseph's Advocate, v 3 no.2 (1895) pp. 36-38 and v 3 no. 3 (1895) pp. 50-52. The full papers of the case are in MHFA-15-P- 44 to 44$_{z}^{11}$ in the 1894 file.

as a waste of time and money.[36] There was therefore support and encouragement for town missions like Sandakan and neglect and obstruction to native missionary work. In this connection, Fr. Goossens, generally at the centre of any rows with the government, cannot be judged entirely in the wrong. The first notable dispute with the government was in 1915 when Fr. Goossens went to Kuching for consultations with Mgr. Dunn. His scathing shipboard remarks about the administration of the Chartered Company were reported by the captain and the North Borneo Government wrote to Mgr. Dunn demanding Fr. Goossens' immediate repatriation. By the time these demands reached Sarawak Fr. Goossens had already returned to North Borneo and simply refused to leave the country. After a good deal of bluster, the government gave in. We may conjecture that the subject of the remarks that aroused such a surprising reaction may have been what has come to be known as the "notorious Putatan Papar land case". According to Tergonning, a Catholic hothead from Papar challenged the government on a land question and his grievance was taken up by the Society for the Protection of Aborigines; the case reached the British parliament where the Chartered Company's position was upheld. Tregonning's insinuation is that Fr. Goossens was the grey eminence in this case[37] and his justification is an extract from a Governor's dispatch of 1921.[38] Perusal of the British Parliamentary Papers[39] concerning the case indicates that the Catholic hothead was one Simon from Papar and that the Catholic mission is not mentioned once in the proceedings. The land case was actually only part of series of complaints levelled by the Aborigines Society and one of the main witnesses, G. de la Mothe, wrote to Mgr. Dunn asking to obtain the Support of the Catholic mission for its complaints, but Mgr. Dunn's hand note to the letter indicates that he had forbidden the Fathers to become involved. It may be doubted that Fr. Goossens would have paid much attention to this ban, but the Governor's unspecified accusation can hardly be regarded as evidence and, in the absence of any real evidence of mission involvement, Fr. Goossens' responsibility in the case may be discounted. The position of the British government in this case is somewhat open to question; far from exonerating the Chartered Company, it left open the possibility of re-opennng the case should new evidence come to light.[40] The burden of the Governor's

36. M. Hurley, "A History of Education in North Borneo" (55 page typescript presented for the Colonial Course, London University, 1966).
37. Tregonning, Chartered Company , p 178.
38. SBGA Governor's Dispatch no 483 (1921), para. 7, 30 June 1921. See also SBGA 1288/20.
39. "Correspondence on the Subject of Allegations against the Administration of the British North Borneo Company", British Parliamentary Papers, v.33 (1920) cmd 1060 , pp. 681-705.

complaint in 1921 was that wherever Catholic missions had been established the natives tended to become politically conscious of their rights and mission influence should be controlled so as to avoid such consequences.

In the context of the bad feeling that existed between the government and the missions of the interior and of the anti-German feeling current furing the First World War it is surprising that so few restrictions were applied to the mission's Austrian personnel. The government was satisfied to accept the missionaries' parole.[41] In 1919 the Company Directors decided to extend to North Borneo the Straits Ordinance No. 17 of 1917, which required all non-British missionaries and teachers to be licensed by the government.[42] From subsequent documentation it seems that the aim of the ordinance was the control of missionaries.[43] Mgr. Dunn suspected that it was a threat to the Austrian priests,[44] but he soon experienced that its aims were much wider. The first testcase of the new ordinance was the opening of the Tambunan mission. Mgr. Dunn had visited Tambunan in February 1920[45] and had discussed the projected mission with the Resident of the interior, who had instructions to tell Mgr. Dunn that the new mission should have a British Rector.[46] The Resident informed the Government Secretary on 19 February that the mission would require fifteen acres of land and that the Rector would be Fr. Joseph Staal, a Dutchman.[47] At first only the amount of land was questioned.[48] It was not until Fr. Staal actually applied for permission to proceed to Tambunan that his nationality became grounds for objection[49] and Fr. Staal was replaced by Fr. H. Dines, a British subject. Fr Dines did not suit the mission at all, being ignorant of the local language and having had most of his

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40. (from page 149). In "The Notorious Papar/Putatan Land Case", Millhilliana, no. 2 (1981), pp 16-21, the writer concludes that the Chartered Company "deceived the British government by its failure to make explicit the native customary laws which had a bearing on the case. It swindled the natives into accepting rates of compensation which this essay has shown to have been inequitable on several counts."
41. Mgr. Wachter was asked for his parole. It may be assumed that the others were treated in the same way.
42. Alien Missionaries Ordinance No 162 of 1919.
43. SBGA G.S.O. 122/32 of 13 March 1932.
44. SWA-7-8, Mgr. E. Dunn, Annual Report to Propaganda (1920), para.6. Mgr Dunn asked Propaganda to approach the British Government to insure that the Austrian missionaries were not expelled and that there would would be no restrictions on entry permits.
45. SBGA R.O.I. 324/20, Dunn to Assis. Gov Secretary, 21 Feb. 1920.
46. SBGA R.O.I. 324/20, 4 Feb. and 6 Feb. 1920.
47. SBGA R.O.I. 41/20, Resident to Gov. Secretary, 19 Feb. 1920.
48. Ibid. The Gov. Secretary annotated the request for 15 acres with: "Much too Much".
49. SBGA G.S.O. No. 324/202, 8 Feb., & 3 March 1920.

previous mission experience in the First Division of Sarawak. It was not until 1925 that Fr. J. Quinn, a British born Kadazan speaking missionary, could be appointed to Tambunan. He was joined two years later by Fr. M Connolly. The subsequent government-mission correspondence concerning Tambunan is embarrassing reading and paints the picture of government officers acting with an arrogantly self-righteous pettiness that borders on the vindictive.[50]

Troubles for the missions of the interior continued with the opening of the Keningau mission. By the time this came about the 1919 ordinance had been replaced by another aimed at the control of teachers only. Mgr. Wachter's Diary gives the impression that the repeal resulted from the mission's repeated remonstrances against the ordinance, but the Company records show that the government's aim was not so much to right a discriminatory law as to bring North Borneo law into line with that of the Federated Malay States.[51] The earliest attempt to establish a Christian mission in Keningau was that of J.H. Elton in 1896. He started a school under the direction of F. Perry and J.H. Edney. When Edney's illness forced his return to the coast in 1897, Perry was recalled and the mission closed. For it was deemed unwise to leave a missionary alone in such a remote and dangerous place. The date and duration of the Anglican mission is noteworthy in so far as it questions the tradition that the Anglican loyalties of the Sedomon family motivated their subsequent opposition to the Catholic mission.

In 1936 Governor D.J. Jardine invited the Catholic mission to start work in Keningau. Though Governor Jardine was generally friendly to the mission, his invitation was part of a strategy against the depopulation of the interior. It is calculated that the Murut population declined by 20% during the first quarter of this century.[52] At first the government attributed the low population figures to the reputed Murut distaste and superstition concerning the registration of births. By the 1930s this justification was no longer tenable and the government, especially its medical officer, Dr. J. Dingle, was seriously alarmed.[53] Dr. J.O. Shirecore and G.C. Wooley were commissioned to report on the Muruts with the following terms of reference:[54]

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50. See, e.g., SBGA G.S.O. on the provision of medical services in Tambunan, and the Wachter Diary 1929-31.
51. SBGA G.S.O. 414/32, 109 page report.
52. Tregonning, Modern Sabah, p. 72. See also, Jones, Population, p. 69.
53. British North Borneo Herald, 17 Aug. 1936, Governor Jardine's Address.
54. British North Borneo Herald, 2 Nov. 1935.

(1) to obtain reliable information and statistics in regard to the physical progress or decline of typical sections of the native population;
(2) to ascertain the deseases which occur among the natives and their causes, special attention being paid to food deficiency deseases;
(3) to study the habits of the people, men, women and children, as regards work and to give a typical days work;
(4) to ascertain the death, birth and infantile mortality rates;
(5) to consider how far, where there is a decline in the population, this is due to the habits of the people in such matters as excessive consumption of alcohol, indifferent housing, faulty nutrition, celibacy, contraception; and
(6) generally to study the ethnological, sociological and economic conditions under which the people live and all matters relating to health, morbidity and mortality of the population with special reference to mother and child.

The Shirecore report was never actually published, but Tregonning writes that it found that malaria and gonorhea were the most important contributors to depopulation and that habitual drunkenness had perhaps less negative value than had hitherto been appreciated. To complete the picture it might be mentioned here that a further study was conducted between 1953 and 1956 by Drs. Mary Saunders, John Landgraf and Ivan Polunin. This study supported Shirecore reference malaria and not reference venereal desease, but it can be faulted on the smallness of its sampling. Its concern too for genital measurements of not very obvious relevance is somewhat distasteful.[55]

It was not until July 1938 that Mgr. Wachter was able to decide definitely to accept Governor Jardine's invitation,[56] but the first indication that a missionary had been appointed to Keningau is a note in Mgr. Wachter's Diary on 1 March 1939 which states that he and Fr E. Staudacher had finalized the mission's land grant. Despite the official character of the establishment of Keningau mission, mission access to the Bingkor native reserve and to the Pensiangan district was denied.[57] Two justifications for the Bingkor exclusion have been suggested. The Anglican explanation has been questioned already. The second sees the exclusion as the policy of of Governor C.R. Smith, successor to Governor Jardine and Resident of the interior during the earlier Tambunan troubles. Contemporary witnesses suggest however that C.R. Smith's anti-Catholic

55. SBA-10-17 to 46, M. Saunders & I. Polunin, "Studies on Murut Infertility" (typescript. See also I. Polunin, "Infertility and Depopulation: A Study of the Murut Tribes of North Borneo", The Lancet, 8,11,58.
56. Cfr. Wachter Diary and SBGA G.S.O. 0358/3 R.O.W.C. No. 304/38/7, Wachter to Resident Wset Coast, J ly 1938.
57. SBGA G.S.O. No 1358/3 R.O.W.C. No 304/38/8, 6 July 1938; same file of 13 July 1938 and R.O.W.C. No 304/38/20 of 4 Nov 1940.

policies came to the fore only when he was under the influence of D. Maxwell Hall.[58] A truer explanation may be found in an unusual experiment in native administration, instituted in 1936 by C.R. Smith and R.F. Evans. Its aim was to entrust the native chiefs with more responsibility for native administration than simply the collection of taxes amd presiding over the native courts. Responsibility for fuller local administration was to be devolved to the chiefs. Since Bingkor was to be the test case for the new experiment, it seems logical that this district should be preserved from any external influences which might jeopardize the success of the experiment.[59]

Despite these special difficulties of the missions in the interior, Mgr. Wachter got on well with the Governors and Presidents of the Company. He was one of the first to be awarded the North Borneo Medal and when, in protest to the Austrian Anschluss, he renounced his Austrian citizenship, he was awarded North Borneo citizenship.[60] The restrictions imposed on the missions of the interior were never applied with any vigour to the coastal and town missions.

(iv)

The Sarawak mission meanwhile enjoyed the trust of the local government. The Rajah asked missionary advice when he thought he needed it,[61] the mission provided inspectors for government schools[62] and Fr. Haidegger, for example, served on the Kuching town Board.[63] The only major disagreement concerned the Sarawak marriage law. We have seen in Chapter Two that the chaotic state of Sarawak marriage was the main motive for Fr. Jackson's resignation. As early as 1888 both the Anglican Church and the Rajah felt that something must be done to tide back the the country's divorce rate.[64] In September 1892 the Rajah published his own marriage ordinance requiring that Christian marriages be preceded by a court marriage for which a $2.00 registration fee had to be paid.

58. Interviews with a number of Sabah misiionaries who worked in North Borneo in the 1930s, 1978-9.
59. North Borneo Herald, 12 May 1937,"Governor's Address to the Native Chiefs".
60. SBGA R.W.W.C. 224/37/2 of 29 Arpil 1937 and SBGA No.1434/9 of 30 Aug 1939.
61. Rajah C. Brooke to Haidegger, 21 Sept. 1913, reference Chinese newspapers. Sarawak Musuem Collection.
62. The first occasion was in 1904. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p 66 and Sarawak Gazette of July 1904.
63. He served for several periods between 1900 and 1930.
64. Rajah C. Brooke to Bishop C. Hose, 4 Sept. 1888. Sarawak Museum Collection,

At first the Rajah seemed to reject Bishop C. Hose's contention that the effect of the ordinance would be to discourage Christian marriage,[65] but the ordinance was withdrawn in 1892, only to be re-enacted in February 1898.[66] Though there was some doubt about the Catholic position in respect of this ordinance, some Catholic marriages came before the courts and in 1907 S. Baring Gould suggested that the Fathers be constituted civil registrars of marriage in respect of Catholic marriages.[67] The test case of the Catholic position concerned the estate of a certain Tow Kang in 1909. His widow was informed that as a Christian not married in court she had no rights over her deceased husband's property. In December 1909 Fr. Haidegger wrote to the Resident, petitioning that the government should take one of four possible courses of action in respect of Catholic marriages:[68]

(1) Declare that Catholic marriages enjoy the same rights as marriages under native customary law.
(2) Change the marriage ordinance so as to substitute civil registration for civil marriage.
(3) Grant to Catholic priests the status of civil marriage registrars. OR
(4) Change the marriage ordinance so that the religious marriage precedes the civil ceremony.

The Sarawak government did not at first agree to any of these proposals, but wrote to Mgr. Dunn to inform him that the Rajah had legalized by decree all Catholic marriages that had occurred since the proclamation of the marriage ordinance.[69] Mgr. Dunn declined to accept the government's decision until he had had time to study the matter more fully.[70] His draft proposals for changes in the marriage ordinance suggested that civil registration before or after the religious marriage replace the civil marriage and that the ordinance be re-phrased so as to affect Catholics in so far as its provisions were compatible with their religious tenets. It is not recorded how these suggestions were presented to the government, but by the 1930s it was common practice for the Fathers to act as civil registrars in respect of Catholic marriages and in 1934, at the instance of the mission, Rajah Vyner Brooke agreed to apply civil penalties to Christian couples who separated without cause.

Other than this, Church-State relations in the Sarawak of the

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65. Charles Brooke to Bishop C. Hose, 4 Sept. 1888, Sarawak Museum Collection.
66. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p.20.
67. SWA-4-Staal v.3 p. 101, reference the marriage of Birai.
68. SWA-4-Staal v 3 pp. 117-8, Haidegger to Evans, 11 Dec. 1909.
69. SWA- -Staal v.3 pp. 119, Resident's Office to Dunn, 30 March 1910.
70. Ibid.

Brookes were generally smooth and unruffled, entirely in line with the policies laid down by the Prefects Apostolic in the second Provincial Chapter of 1901.[71]

(v)

Previous to the Defence (Registration of Aliens) Regulations of 1941[72] the Austrian and Italian missionaries worked on a parole basis,[73] but as the Japanese invasion became more imminent, the government of North Borneo asked all the Sisters to move to the interior. The White Sisters went to Sapong and the Carmelites were evacuated to the house of Mr. T. Makajil at Inobong for about five weeks in 1941-2.[74] By 24 December 1941 Kuching was in Japanese hands. On Christmas day Sibu was bombed, by 1 January 1942 Labuan had fallen and on 4 January a small Japanese force landed at Weston to receive the surrender of North Borneo from Resident R.F. Evans and Colonel W.C. Adams. In a matter of days Kudat, Sandakan and Tawau were captured.

The mission's reaction to these events differed from place to place. In the Sarawak First Division life continued fairly normally at at first without serious Japanese interference. The Third Division missionaries took to the jungle at first and contemplated retreating into Dutch Borneo, but on the advice of Fr Buis they stayed where they were. When the Japanese arrived they requested that the Fathers and Sisters should stay at their posts and there was little further interference in their work until June 1942. Fr. J. Veldbrugge at Marudi undertook to lead a party of refugees into Dutch Borneo. This party met up with another group of Dutch refugees at Long Nawang where they set up camp, stayed unmolested for about six months and Fr. Feldbrugge set up a little school for the children. In August 1942 this little Dutch enclave was discovered by the Japanese and totally massacred. Fr. H. O'Brien wandered around quite estensively, turning up at Long Nawang and going as far afield as the Ulu Trusan where he met up with Mr. and Mrs. C.H. Southwell, the BEM misiionaries. By the end of 1942 he had reached Kuching

71. SWA-10-18 to 19, Second Provincial Chapter of the Borneo Mission, 1901, Resolutions relating to discipline.
72. SBGA P.O.J. No.12/41/24. Chief Police Officer to Wachter, 9 April 1941, reference the registration of the Carmelites. (under SBA-5-284)
73. SBA-5-283, Wachter to Resident West Coast, 15 Oct. 1940 and SBGA R.O.W.C. 504-39, Ag. Resident West Coast to Wachter, 11 June 1941, (under SBA-5-284).
74. SBA-4-173 to 174, Wachter Diary 9-12 Dec. 1941. See also Carmelite Diary of the Same period. The White Sisters who moved were those from Jesselton only. Interview with Sr. St. Luke, December 1980.

and was interned at Batu Lintang, where he worked as chaplain to the camp hospital.

On 13 January the North Borneo surrender terms were published.[75] The tenth article of the surrender reads : " Planting, business, culture, education and religion must be restored as soon as possible." The same day, Mgr. Wachter sent guarantees on behalf of the missionaries that they would live peacefully and law abiding under the Japanese rule and take no part in political, inimical or propaganda activities against the Japanese Empire.[76] This declaration did not affect the missionaries on the East Coast of Borneo. For the authorities there had not acted as had Resident Evans and Colonel Adams. All Europeans there were placed under house arrest, shortly afterwards to be interned at Berhala Island Leprosarium.[77] It seemed on the West Coast that life would continue very much as before and no extant mission sources indicate any awareness that the Japanese left things unchanged because they lacked the personnel for effective total control. As Japanese mastery of the situation increased they tightened their administrative restrictions. February was a month of parades, speeches, sports and public occasions in which all Europeans were forced to take part. The initially irritating Japanese demands to be treated to European dinners soon gave place to more serious inconveniences, the first of which was the freezing of all mission bank accounts sometime between 22 and 28 March.[78] After lengthy negotiations, small amounts of money were released monthly, $20.00 per priest , $15.00 per Sister, $3,00 for each child dependent on the mission and $100.00 for the whole Carmelite community. It proved impossible in these crrcumsatances to re-open the schools, despite Japanese demands that this be done immediately, and the maintenance of orphans became a real headache. By 1944 only 52 such children were left with the mission.[79] On 12 May all Dutch and British Europeans were interned, the men in Kapayan prison and the women at St. Francis Convent, Jesselton. On 1 June all books and breviaries belonging to the internees were confiscated and burned. On 25 September all the men were taken off to Kuching, to be followed a week later by the women.

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75. SBA-5-396.
76. SBA-5-398-9, .. 13 January 1942.
77. SBA-4-178, Wachter Diary, last entry of February 1942.
78. SBA-4-169, Wachter Diary, 28 Jan. 1942; and SBA-5-179, Wachter to Japanese Military Authorities, 30 March 1942.
79. SBA-5- 301 to 303.

With the departure of the British and Dutch missionaries Mgr. Wachter was left with six priests, one Brother and a small group of Sisters to run the mission. Later Fr. J. Theurl, who had been interned by mistake at Kuching, returned to North Borneo to increase the number of priests to seven. At first every station could at least be visited, but after Fr. A. Paulmichl and the Blue Sisters were expelled from Sandakan it proved impossible to visit Kudat, Sandakan and Tawau. Gradually restrictions on travel increased until only Mgr. Wachter was permitted to go about normally and with only minor interference. Considering the rheumatism from which he suffered, his advanced years and the difficulties of travel in those days, his missionary journeys seem like the labours of Hercules. He found the Japanese difficult, but always strove to handle them with patience and courage. Yet his diary is peppered with prayers for patience and understanding. Br. Aegidius and Fr. Theurl, his special supports and strengths, seem more than anyone else to have appreciated his trials and predicament. THE BROTHER could be trusted to handle the Japanese, but he did tend to lose his temper and earned from them the nickname "Pro-Airisman".[80] The years 1943 and 1944 saw the sytematic requisition of almost all mission property. Compensation was always offered, but was steadfastly refused by Mgr. Wachter, who maintained that to accept compensation would mean cooperation in the desecration of sacred buildings. In the end all the Fathers were restricted to two stations, Penampang and Limbahau. The personal tensions and frictions which arose tried everyone's patience so that tempers broke out in noisy rows that were symptomatic of the missionaries' edginess and frustration.[81]

The only time Mgr. Wachter actually lost his temper with the Japanese was when they announced plans to deport the Carmelites to Kuching. His letter of protest,[82] the only one where he uses his native German, was of such firmness that the plans were shelved. Instead the nuns were transferred to St Michael's School Penampang on 10 July 1944.[83] The tradition in Sabah that the Carmelite convent was then used as a military brothel seems to stem from a subsequent report by Fr. A. Verhoeven that mission property had been used for "lewd purposes".[84]. The Carmelite despription

80. SBA-4-188. Even the Japanese had heard of the legendary ire of the Irish.
81. Mgr. Wachter's Diary records several such rows, especially with Fr. J. Bohm and Fr. J. Unterberger; e.g. SBA-4-213 of August 1944.
82. SBA-5-307, Wachter to General-Major Managgi, 26 Jan. 1944.
83. SBA-4-211 and 212, Wachter Diary of 25 June 1944. See also the Carmelite Diary for the same period.
84. SBA-6-168, Verhoeven to the Prefect of Propaganda, 22 May 1944.

of the structural alterations in the convent, made by the Japanese during their absence,does not support this tradition,[85] nor is it supported by any contemporary reference in the Sabah Church Archives.

After the internment of the Sarawak missionaries Mgr. Hopfgartner was left with only two priests and some native Sisters. The schools were soon closed and Mgr. Hopfgartner and Fr. P. Aichner were restricted to work in Kuching and in those places which were within a day's walk of Kuching. In the absence of documentary evidence it is very difficult to retrace their movements, but three legends survive that may have some foundation in fact.

Mgr. Wachter tells us that Mgr. Hopfgartner took responsibility for supplying the interned missionaries with money and comforts, but such help as his scarcity of means allowed must have been more symbolic than helpful. He was able to insure with the cooperation of the camp commandant, Colonel Tsuga, that the interned priests received regular supplies of what was needed for Mass. By a strange good fortune the Sarawak mission had ordered in 1941 double the usual supply of altar wine from Australia. The problem was not, therefore, supply, but keeping the supply out of Japanese hands. The wine was distributed in small caches among the Catholics of Kuching, but, if they were discovered, the wine keepers were instructed to refer the Japanese to Mgr. Hopfgartner. One family was caught and did as they were instructed. When the police arrived at the mission to demand the wine, Mgr. Hopfgartner conducted them to the store underneath the mission house, a room that was used to keep a supply of coffins. The priest proceeded to unscrew the first coffin and reveal the bottles of altar wine stored inside. The police, in superstitious dread of the coffins, decided that no further investigation was necessary.[81]

Another legend is that on the occasion of a missionary camp death the deceased was permitted to be buried in the Catholic cemetery, Kuching, and that the interned missionaries accompanied the cortege to the graveside. Mgr. Hopfgartner is said to have made picnics of these occasions and to have replaced the panegyric with a news bulletin in Latin which encouraged the prisoners to persevere in the hope of deliverance. This delightfully irreverent story does not stand up to critical examination. What seems to have happened is that Fr. H. O'Brien, the camp hospital chaplain, used to conduct the cortege to the cemetery. Mgr. Hopgartner would meet him at the camp gates and accompany him to the funeral. On the way they discussed the news to be passed in and out

85. Carmelite Diary of 1945-46.
86. Interview with Fr. P. Aichner, February 1979.

of the camp. To prevent the guards from eavesdropping the two priests conversed in Latin.[87]

The third legend concerns the Double Tenth rebellion which never took place in Sarawak. The North Borneo rebellion of 10 October 1943 came as a complete surprise to Mgr. Wachter,[88] though a number of Catholic Chinese were involved.[89] It is said that Mgr. Hopfgartner learned that the Chinese in Penrissen planned a similar revolt at the same time, but he dissuaded them by pointing out that such a revolt would be followed by mass killings in Batu Lintang camp. There is no documentary evidence to support this story.

Fr. J. Chin and the Little Sisters of Sarawak were forced successively to vacate the Sibu boys school and the mission and to settle at Sungei Dasan. On the Feast of the Assumption 1942 Fr. Chin was arrested as he went to the altar and imprisoned for thirty four days because of his previous involvement with the British Patriotic Fund. His repeated attempts to visit Mukah led to his being accused of complicity in the sabotage of the Mukah electricity plant, for which he was flogged three times and subjected to the water torture. After his release he was able to continue his priestly work until July 1945. From that time he managed to stay alive by being constantly on the move and never sleeping two consecutive nights in the same house.[90]

Not all the Japanese were enemies of the Church. At least one of them was converted to Catholicism and the friendship of two officers was particularly advantageous to the mission. Commander Nagai acted as courier between the North Borneo mission and the interned missionaries.[92] Although Colonel Tsuga has been painted as a petty tyrant responsible ultimately for the Sandakan Death March, Bishop T. van Valenberg praises him for the amount he did in the internment camp at Batu Lintang to soften the worse effects of the general Japanese internment system.[93] Even by Batu Lintang standards, however, the Catholic missionaries were treated better than

87. Interview with Fr. H. O'Brien, June 1980.
88. SBA-4-200, Wachter Diary, 13 Oct. 1943.
89. SBA-4-210, Wachter Diary, 6 June 1944. Fr. Verhoeven states that 200 Catholics were involved, but it is not clear whether he includes in his assessment those Catholics executed at Tawau and Sandakan.
90. SWA-1- 43 to 45, Fr. J Chin's report to Mill Hill, 27 Feb. 1946.
91. SBA-4-219, Wachter Diary reference the baptism of the Japanese Dr. Sato, 12 March 1945.
92. SBA-4-274, Verhoeven and Antonissen to Commander Nagai, 29 Jan. 1943.
93. Interview with Bishop T van Valenberg, Easter 1980. He made these remarks in reference to Dr. D. van Velden's De Japanse Internerings-kampen voor Brugers gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog (Weber B.V., Vranken, 1963).

were the other internees. The Anglican Bishop F.S. Hollis was restrained for a year from exercising his ministry for the crime of giving alms to one of the soldier prisoners.[94] Non-Catholic missionaries were prevented for three months from ministering to their own co-religionists in other camps. The Dutch Reformed Church minister was condemned to three years detention for a minor regulation infringement and it is assumed that he was executed shortly before the end of the war. The generally more humane treament of the Catholic missionaries might be explained by such diplomatic pressure as the Vatican could exercise through its mission in Tokyo, by the official status of the Church in Japan or even by the fact that Colonel Tsuga, though not a Christian, had been educated by the Jesuits.[95] The benefits they gained were:[96]

(1) A separate internment camp for the 110 priests and Brothers.
(2) Exemption from working on the labour gangs on all afternoons and Sundays to allow time for prayer and study.
(3) Permission to act as chaplains to all camps except the Australian military camp. The Australians had their own chaplains with them. The Sisters had two Masses per day and generally 20 priests were able to celebrate Mass each day.
(4) Provision of a large plot of land, the present Batu Lintang College playing fileds, on which to grow vegetables.

Though these benefits must have contributed greatly to the low Catholic missionary mortality rate, there are other contributory factors which need consideration. The missionaries were as a rule accustomed to the rougher side of tropical living and knew the nutrition value of many local wild plants. The Capuchins with a foresight uncharacteristic of the Franciscan rule, had brought supplies of cloth and medicine into the camp and had laid in a supply of gold and barter goods, The gold sovereigns were sewn into the hems of the Friars' habits, to be retrieved when needed. Bishop T. v. Valenberg, as camp leader, cancelled all private property and ordered that every single piece of personal property that was barterable had to be made available to the Brother Procurator on request. Fr. J. Buis was designated sole barter agent for medicines and other camp necessities. Rations were distributed so that the needs of the sick were met first and the healthy got what remained. Mental discipline was promoted by by classes and studies in linguistics and other subjects. Paper for writing was obtained from tobacco wrappers, and ink was made from the juice of the mangosteen; a brilliant purple ink that would never have been popular commercially, but which has stood

94. P.H.H. Howes, The Batu Lintang Camp (Kuching, 1947) p 43.
95. Colonel Tsuga admitted this to Sr. Philippa Pupp in 1943.
96. SBA-10-53, Fr. P. de Wit's report, undated, but made in 1945. Interviews with eleven surviving inmates of the priests' camp agree totally with the de Wit report.

the test of time. Bridge schools and regular concerts were organized to create a cheerful atmosphere.[97] Fr. P. de Wit reports that the Japanese found the missionaries' cheerfulness incomprehensible and explains that it arose from a conscious decision to celebrate every occasion which might provide an excuse for celebrating.

Though the priests' lot was hard and undignified, the cruelties suffered in the other camps were seldom their misfortune. When Bishop v. Valenberg was struck by Lt. Yamamoto, Colonel Tsuga personally thrashed the offending officer in the presence of the prisoners "pour encourager les autres".[98] There were only two other beatings. Fr. A. Crowther, a Lancashire priest, was kicked in the shins for refusing to slaute a guard[99] and Fr. P. de Wit was sentenced to three days kennel treatment for giving a pair of shorts to a soldier reduced to wearing a simple loincloth that hardly covered him. He continues to this day to suffer from a partial deafness brought on by the beatings he suffered.[100]

When deliverance came in August 1945 most missionaries required a long period of rest and recuperation in Labuan and many had to be sent to Australia for extended convalescence and cure. A few had to retire permanently from work in Borneo. Yet, when the military authorities asked for lists of atrocities and the names of the captors who had been cruel and inhumane, the missionaries listed instead the names of those Japanese who had shown kindness and conisderation. The Labuan Australian military court of 28-31 January 1946 sentenced four Japanese officers to death by shooting and forty two guards to periods of imprisonment ranging from one year to life.[101] Colonel Tsuga committed suicide at Labuan in September 1945. The Sarawak Fathers were first to be permitted to return to their stations. The North Borneo Fathers were detained in Labuan until financial guarantees of their maintenance had been provided.[102] North Borneo was in ruins, Mgr Wachter and companions had disappeared without trace and the British Military Administration did not wish the missionaries to return and become a burden on already impoverished districts.

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97 Abstracted from SBA-10-47 to 53, Fr. P. de Wit's report and T.v. Valenberg, "Het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Pontianak inder en na de Oorlog met Japan (1941-1846)" (28 page typscript, unpublished). Also considered the letters from Batu Lintang to Mgr. A. Wachter, SBA-4-265 to 274.

98. Interview with Bishop T. v. Valenberg, Easter 1980.

99. The writer was Fr. Crowther's assistant at Kota Belud and heard the story repeated often enough.

100. SBA-4-234, Fr. de Wit's Second Report. Fr. de Wit does not reveal that Fr. A. Grent was the real 'culprit' and Fr. de Wit volunteered to stand in for the weaker and more nervy priest.

101. C.S.O. No. 1290/248, Colony of North Borneo, 4 Nov 1947.

102. See p.55 no.141.

The complete collapse of the North Borneo Mission arose because Mgr. and all the Tyrolese missionaries had died at Tenom and Sapong in July and August 1945. The skein of mystery that surrounds their deaths will probably never be satisfactorily unravelled. After the Potsdam peace conference and the German European capitulation the Japanese became very suspicious of the Tyrolese Fathers. On 17 May they began to dig trenches in and around Penampang mission and on 18 May demanded the surrender of the mission. Mgr. Wachter refused and the soldiers withdrew. Br. Aegidius and Fr. Theurl went to the Resident's office in Jesselton to demand expalanations for this invasion of the mission and they were informed that the Japanese intended to make a stand against the Australians at Penampang and that the missionaries must move to Tenom. On the morning of 19 May Mgr. Wachter called Mssrs Menjaji, Herman, Vitalianus Lim and Claudius Yap to the mission and entrusted to them the care of all mission property during the absence of the Fathers. In the afternoon the Japanese Resident and Mr. Yamada called at the mission, but could not be persuaded to stay the execution of the removal order. They agreed only that Sr. Philippa and the Carmelite Sisters would not be disturbed for the time being and promised that, if the Fathers agreed to move that very evening, the people of Penampang would come to no harm. At 10.00 p.m. the Fathers and three boys were removed under heavy guard. Those arrested were : Mgr. A. Wachter, Fr. J. Unterberger, Fr. J. Bohm, Fr. J. Theurl, Fr. M. Obertegger, Br. Aegidius Leiter, Patrick Lee, Stanislaus Sabahai and Peter Wong. The following morning at Papar they met up with Fr A. Raich, Fr. F. Flur and Fr. A. Paulmichl, who had been taken at Kinuta. After a week at Papar, waiting repairs to the railway, the party set off to walk to Tenom. It is not known how long they stayed at Tenom, only that Fr. Paulmichl died there of malaria. In July the missionaries were moved to Sapong.[103] Beyond this date we are dependent on hearsay and rumour. Some accounts say that the missionaries were beheaded at Sapong, others that they were shot. At the instance of Fr. Verhoeven and the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney the deaths were investigated by the Australian No.8 War Crimes Investigation Team. Its report on 5 September 1946 was based mainly on the testimony of a certain Captain Iguchi. This Japanese officer stated that on 3 July the missionaries had died in a bomb attack at Sapong or that they had escaped into the jungle. No trace of their remains was ever found. When Major Dickson, the investigating officer, pointed out that he had reason to believe that the Fathers were alive

103. This whole account is an abstract of the witness of the Carmelits, the Blue Sisters and Sister Philippa, found in SBA-4-?75 to?91, ?97 to ?98, and 306 to 308.

at the beginning of August, Captain Iguchi refused to change his story and, although Major Dickson regarded his testimony as unsatisfactroy, the Iguchi explanation has been accepted officially.[104]

The Japanese occupation did not lack effects beneficial to the Church. The interned missionaries learned through shared hardship a comradeship with missionaries of other orders. The Carmelites' move into the villages round Penampang brought local people to a knowledge of a part of the life of the Church which they had never suspected existed. The occupation was a proving ground for the local Church and became a watershed between the old missionary Church and the emergence of the new indigenous Church.

(vi)

The colonial period that began in 1946 was a time of rebuilding during which the mission was so closely cooperative with the colonial government in education, development and social work as to merit in some sense the reputation of being a colonial Church. During this period there are indications that the Sarawak government and the North Borneo government moved in opposite directions in respect of missionary zoning policies. This was a time when the Sarawak Church expanded more effectively into the Fourth and Fifth Divisions. Although the Chinese Methodist settlements of the early 1900s effectively ended the Catholic monopoly in the Third Division, the Second Division remained an SPG stronghold until after 1946, when the Catholic mission opened an outstation at Semanggang, a station that was later to become headstation for the Second Division in 1979.[105] What is especially noticeable about the Fourth and Fifth Division missionary work in Sarawak is that after 1946 the Catholic mission worked in conjunction with and in opposition to the Evangelical missions. The tendency of the post-war Sarawak government was in the direction of the reversal of the Brookes' government missionary zoning plocies.

Though the Chartered Company did not officially zone missionaries, by the beginnnng of the Japanese occupation Penampang, Tambunan, Papar, Bundu Kuala Penyu and Keningau could be regarded as Catholic spheres of influence. After the occupation population pressures on the Tambunan Plain led to significant immigration into the neighbouring

104. THe documentary sources are SBA-4-262, BBWC/8/4/105, Pardoe to Verhoeven, 22 Oct 1946; SBA-4-264, BBWC/8/4 Pardoe to Catholic Mission, 20 Sept. 1946; SBA-4-265 PN/094/6-11, Darling to Verhoeven, 6 Nov. 1945; SBA-4-303, 9thDivision Message, Landforces to Landops, 6 Nov. 1945.

105. Interview with the Rector of Semmanggang, February 1979.

Ranau and Ulu Tuaran districts. Since many of the immigrants were already Catholic the Tambunan and Tuaran missions began to open up new outstations to serve them. The work of other Christian missions already established in these districts made the government fear that this new Catholic mission involvement might cause friction. In the early 1950s the West Coast Residency prepared a position paper on the subject,[106] which lists those areas where permission for missionary work was required:

> (a) The West Coast Residency other than Jesselton and Tuaran districts, and that part of Kota Belud district, north of Dalas and to the west of the Kedamaian-Tempassok river and the area bounded on the east by the Kedamaian river; on the west by the ridge of Kg. Pinasang; on the south by Sungei Tagusan.
> (b)The East Coast Residency other than the towns of Sandakan, Tawau and Lahad Datu and places served by the government road system at these places.
> (c) The Labuan and Interior Residency.

The position paper recommends zoning of the missions and argues that assurances given to the Anglican Bishop that zoning would not be applied should not be honoured. The paper sounds authoritiative, but evidences a lack of appreciation of the religious and missionary issues involved. First, it deals with Christian missions as if they were so many brands of soap powder. Then it assumes that the government has a right to dictate the religion of the people. Thirdly, its basic assumption is that government officers, often on short term contracts, know best what is good for the natives. It is a well intentioned paper, but good intentions are not necessarily contiguous with enlightenment and, despite the paper's apparatus of scientific impartiality, it is not difficult to read in it a growing government disquiet about the growth of Catholic mission influence. In 1955 Governor R.D. Turnbull went so far as to express these fears publicly.[107] The Church did not intend (a) to withdraw services from Catholic families settled in non-Catholic zones, (b) to refuse to visit villages to which she had been invited, or (c) to declare areas of future interest with no concern for the future choice and requests of the natives themselves.[108] The royal instruction of 1950 that enjoined colonial administrations to support Christian missions gave the Church confidence in this stand.[109]

The meeting of interested parties suggested by Resident N. Coombe in 1954[110] did not take place. On 29 December of that year he wrote

106. This document is unsigned and undated. Internal evidence suggests that it was written in 1953-4, and SBCA R.O.W.C. no. 694/46/118 suggests that it was written by the D.O. Tuaran.
107. SBA-5-415, Bishop Buis to Resident Jesselton, 11 Aug. 1954.
108. SBA-6-61, Vicariate Jesselton Report to Propaganda, 1966.
109. SBA-1-317.
110. SBA-5-416, R.O.W.C. no. 694/46/91, 1 July 1954.

that he had been authorized to to make a de facto distribution of the villages to the various bodies preponderant in the district and suggested a meeting in January 1955.[111] Bishop Buis reports that this meeting took place, that the Catholic mission was allocated no villages at all and that Catholic confrontation with the Resident was made unnecessary by the outright rejection of the proposals by the SDA and BEM missions. The mission had no intention of cooperating with Resident Coombe's plan which it regarded as impractical and ill-conceived,[112] but it did accept the criticism that it was insufficiently concerned with rural agricultural education.[113] Its response was the establishment of the Bundu Tuhan agricultural mission and during the 1960s to expand into social work beyond the merely educational and medical.

(vii)

The manner by which independence was to be achieved was a surprise to the Church, and the announcement of the Malaysia plan found the bishops somewhat at a loss, without a common policy. Their hastily arranged meeting in Jesselton in January 1962 produced both a private and a public document. The private document, a memorandum to the Commission for Malaysia, declared Church neutrality on the political issues, but stressed that , if Malaysia was to succeed, there must be some constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion, embracing freedom of worship, freedom of religion in schools and freedom of religious workers to go about their lawful occasions.[114] With these guarantees the bishops were willing to pledge the Church to work for the building of the nation of Malaysia.The public document was a joint pastoral letter read in all churches on 2 March 1962.[115]It contained all that was in the private document, but couched in terms of the Church's responsibilities,and it advised that the Christian must insure respect for his religion by earning the commendation of his peers through public service and good civil order. Its plea against communalism was largely unappreciated at the time, but was to prove a very accurate forecast of one of Malaysia's main problems.[116]

In the flurry of political activity that followed the announcement of Malaysia, there were Catholics involved in every party that was not specifically Muslim. Though mission personnel were forbidden political comment, it was inevitable that the North Borneo Church became associated

111. SBA-5-409, R.O.W.C. no. 694/56/118, 29 Dec , 1954.
112. Interview with Bishop Buis, December 1978.
113. See note no. 101, section 4para. (1).
114. SBA-9-247 to 248, Memorandum to Chairman, Malaysia Commission 26Jan1962.
115. SBA-9-256 to 260.
116. Ibid opening paragraphs.

in the popular mind with the UNKO (United National Kadazan Organization) party. Donald Stephens found the Penampang St. Michael's Sports Club an admirable springboard for his aim of using the Kadazan as his political power base. It was the Club's members, Peter Mojuntin, Herman Luping, and a number of young educated Kadazans, whom Donald Stephens began to court.[117] Despite the strongly Catholic flavour of the UNKO's power base, it never achieved the status of being the official party of the Catholic Church, a fact that should be noted in view of Tun Mustapha's accusation that missionaries meddled in party politics.[118] To evaluate Mustapha's statement it is sufficient to note that one of the missionaries to be expelled for such activity was an 82 year old Carmelite nun who had spent the previous forty years in cloister and one of the priests officially expelled on this excuse had not been resident in the country during the previous four years.[119] The Sarawak Church meanwhile managed to avoid even the suspicion of party political involvement.

The Catholic Church, in common with the other Christian Churches, feared that the proclamation of Islam as the national religion of Malaysia would endanger the religious freedoms enshrined in the Constitution, would make Christians and other non-Muslims into second class citizens, and would create a political imbalance which would place too much power in the hands of the Muslim minorities of Sabah and Sarawak. The Malayan government, conscious of these objections, wanted to allay Christian fears. A delegation of representatives was invited to examine religious tolerance in Malaya and Singapore from 28 January to 11 February 1963.[120] From the eight basic questions asked by the delegation we discover three main areas of concern. The first was the status of the Muslim who wished to change his religion, concerning which the delegation asked if "Freedom of Religion" was extended to Muslims in accordance with the United Nations Definition of the term. The delegates felt that the answers they received were not in accord with the facts and that rights granted in one part of the Constitution were withdrawn in other parts. The second was the position of the Sakai as wards of the Sultans, whose function was exercised by the Malayan state official known as the Protector of Aborigines. This official had the power to restrict and direct the religious affirmation and practice of the Aborigines. The delegates were at pains to prevent the non-Muslim natives of Borneo from being reduced to the status of Sakai.

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117. Interview with Datuk Herman Luping, May 1979.
118. Straits Times, 18 Dec 1970.
119. SBA-1-364, Gov't ref. CIM/E5/359, 24 Oct 1970.
120. The complete documentation is in SBA-6-144 to 246 and SBA-1-19, SBA-9-157 Many of the documents are still highly confidential and I am permitted to give only general outlines of their contents.

The third major concern was education. The delegates felt that Malayan educational policies tended to erode the religious character of the Christian schools by weakening the powers of the school governors in respect of staffing, by zoning policies that filled Christian schools with Muslim pupils who had to be provided with Muslim religious instruction, and made it impossible for children of Christian families to attend the confessional school of their choice. The delegates were not satisfied that the religious liberties of non-Muslims were sufficiently guaranteed and they were anxious to prevent Islam being declared the national religion, to provide that sections 36 and 38 of the Akta Pelajaran 1961 should not be applied to the Borneo states and to avoid the extension to the Borneo states of the Sultans' powers listed in article 32(2)(b) and(6)(d) of the Constitution. Despite joint Christian representations against it, the Council Negri Sarawak declared Islam the national religion, but was at pains to assure the Christian leaders that the Constitution provided them sufficient guarantees of religious freedom.[120] North Borneo decided that Islam might be the national religion of Malaysia, but not the state religion of North Borneo.[121] The Church had not obtained all she wanted, but official guarantees seemed to assure her future.

During the first years of Malaysia there was little interference in education and grant in aid was given for the building of churches and chapels. The first intimation of trouble was a letter from the Immigration Department, Kota Kinabalu, of 30 September 1966[123] to the effect that no expatriate priest or religious worker might be permitted to work longer than ten years in the country. The publication of the document that occasioned this letter was delayed in Sarawak, but Bishops J. Vos and A.D. Galvin, advised by Bishop Buis, wrote to the Sarawak Chief Minister and received verbal assurances that Sarawak missionaries need have no cause for alarm.[124] Joint Christian representations were made to the Sabah Chief Minister, Mr. Peter Lo.[125] The Chief Minister's office and the Immigration Department replied six months later that the ten year missionary residence would be computed from 1 January 1967 only.[126] In Sarawak, only those missionaries who entered the state after 1 January 1967 were affected by the new ordinance.

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121. SWA-8-182, Annual Report to the Apostolic Internuncio, Jakarta, 1963
122. The first of the 20 Malaysia Guarantees given to North Borneo.
123. SBGA CIM/C31/9 of 30 Sept. 1966.
124. SBA-1-298 to 299, 28 Oct. 1966 and SBA-1-297, Bishop Buis, Notanda Document II.
125. SBA-1-300 to 303 of 20 Oct. 1966.
126. SBA-1-304 to 306 of 20 Oct. 1966.

The latter half of the 1960s in Sabah was a time of rumour, counter romour and fear. People suspected the government of telephone tapping, interfering with the mails and use of bribery and intimidation to obtain converts to Islam. Peter Mojuntin reported that this push towards Islam, eventually coordinated in the establishment of USIA (United Sabah Islamis Association), made many Christian government servants resign and either emigrate or seek employment outside the public sector.[127] The Kuala Lumpur race riots of 1969 occasioned the proclamation of a national state of emergency which vested the government of Sabah in the State Operations Committee under the chairmanship of Tun Mustapha. In March 1970 Tun Mustapha began to use his emergency powers to expel expatriate Christian missionaries. At first at a loss to understand these expulsions, the Church soon realized that he had decided to act according to the provisions of section 5 (1)(c) of the Malaysian Immigration Act 1963. No appeal could be heard against the Chairman's decision except with the consent of the State Government.[128] The mission was caught quite neatly by the fact that the person deciding on the expulsions and the authority of appeal against them was one and the same person, viz. Tun Mustapha. Table 6 gives the breakdown of missionary expulsions between March and December 1970.[129]

CHURCH	WORKPASS CANCELLED	PERM.RES. CANCELLED	WORKPASS NON-RENEW	NEW ENTRIES REFUSAL
Protestant	4		1	4 (9)
Basel Mission			?	(?)
Anglican			?	1 (3)
BEM	?	1		4 (7)
Baptist				(0)
SDA	3			(3)
Catholic	?	11	13	? (29)
TOTALS	11	12	18	12
	(41 expulsions)			

TABLE 6

127. SBA-9-257, Peter Mojuntin to Tun Abdul Razak, 14 Nov. 1970, para. 23.
128. This view is expressed by Dr Ismail, deputy Chief Minister of Malaysia and Minister for Home Affairs, in an undated newspaper clipping in SBA-9-137.
129. SBA-9-132 to 133. These statistics come from the Interfaith Fellowship Meeting, Tanjong Aru, 25 Nov. 1971.

In 1971 only three permit renewals were refused,[130] and matters remained quiet until December 1972. In December 1971 Fr. J. v. Velzen requested a special priests meeting to help him answer the question: Could he in conscience accept expulsion, knowing that he could not be re-placed and his people would be without a priest? He was under expulsion notice at the time of the meeting. The decision of the meeting was that any individual priest who, having carefully weighed up the consequences, felt that he could not in conscience accept the expulsion order, would be permitted to take a stand against the government, provided his resistance was passive only; but no individual should be obliged to act in this way. In 1972 eight priests decided to ignore the expulsion orders. The government, caught unawares, hesitated before ordering the police to take action; but on 2 December the police decided to make three raids on the missions in Tambunan, Papar and Bundu Kuala Penyu. The raids were timed to take place at 3.00 a.m., the police having first made certain that the church bell ropes had been cut. The raids in Papar and Tambunan were successful and the priests were in gaol in Kapayan almost before their parishioners knew they had been seized. The Kuala Penyu raid was a fiasco. The church bell was not silenced and the police arrived on the mission compound to an angry reception by about six hundred parishioners. They retreated in good order without suffering or causing any violence. By 11.00 a.m. sufficient troops had been flown into the district to take the mission by storm, but even so they managed to arrest the priest only by using tear gas to disperse the crowds. After two weeks in prison the priests were deported to Hong Kong. On 16 December there were further raids on Keningau, Tenom and Limbahau. On 4 January Fr. J. Hars was instructed by the Bishop to surrender to the police. These priests were deported almost immediately. A direct result of these incidents was that the Church's position was made very publicly clear and the government, embarrassed and losing credibility, was anxious to avoid the storm of criticism that the arrests had caused.[131]

The most thoroughly documented example of religious harassment and intimidation of natives concerns the Nabawan and Bich Padi Board resettlement scheme, involving 500 Catholic Muruts who had

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130. SBA-9-117, Goodwill and Liaison Committee of PAX to Tun Mustapha, 25 Nov 1971.

131. This information has been gathered from interviews with the priests who were subjects of these arrests, from newspaper reports and from SBA-9-63 to 68.

come from Pensiangan.[132] In November 1973 the scheme manager informed Fr. G. Bauer that Catholics on the scheme required permission from the Padi Board to pray in their houses or anywhere on the scheme. After repeated unsuccessful attempts to visit his congregation Fr. Bauer submitted to the indignity of writing for the required permit,[133] but he received no reply. On 23 December Mufid Dahlan wrote to forbid the Catholics of Biah to use the Balai Raya or Ruma Rancangan for Mass or prayers.[134] On 4 and 20 January 1975 the Catholics of Biah and Nabawan wrote complaining of the harassments and threats to which they had been subjected and of the restrictions which prevented them finding a suitable place for Mass and blocked the possibility of acquiring land to build their own church.[135] The Padi Board response was to increase the harassments and to threaten the catechist with imprisonment. Many of the simple illiterate Catholics, cut off from their priest, succumbed to the intimidation and became Muslims.[136]

When Bishop Buis decided to resign in 1969 and no local priest of sufficient standing and maturity could be found to succeed him, Fr. Peter Chung, a Malaysian citizen from Sarawak, was chosen to succeed. He was never accepted by the Mustapha government and, during his tenure of office, he had to visit his Vicariate on a series of three month visitor permits. After five years of this indignity and on the decease of Bishop C. Reiterer of Kuching he was translated to Kuching, created archbishop and nominated visiting ordinary to the Chinese Catholics of the diaspora. It has been said that Tun Mustapha treated Bishop Chung in this way because he thought that Fr. John Yong should have succeeded Bishop Buis. Another explanation takes its source in the occasion of Bishop Chung's episcopal ordination. Peter Mojuntin chose to make his speech of welcome to the new bishop an occasion to attack the government's anti-Christian policies and to demand publicly for Sabahans the same rights and freedoms enjoyed by other citizens of Malaysia.[137] It is conceivable that Tun Mustapha, fearing to attack Peter Mojuntin directly, chose instead to vent his anger on the bishop. Despite Tun Mustapha's public protestations to the contrary, it is difficult in the light of the Nabawan case and of his treatment of Bishop Chung to escape the

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132. SBA-9-38, Perkara : "Kesulitan Umat Kristian di-Ranchangan Nabawan", 20 hb Januari 1975.
133. SBA-9-50, Fr. G. Bauer to Chairman, Sabah Padi Board, 15 Feb., 1974.
134. SBA-9-56, Mufid Dahlan to Lambang b. Anturun, B.4/2(45), 23 hb. December 1974.
135. SBA-9-38 to 51.
136. SBA-9-114 to 115.
137. SBA-9-115 ff., Speech made by Peter Mojuntin at Kota Kinabalu, 15 Nov. 1970.

the conclusion that his intention was systematically to persecute the Christian Churches of Sabah. The persecution had as its side effect the emergence of a very strong lay leadership in the Church, prominent among whom was Peter Mojuntin. A proper assessment of his contribution will have to await the cooling off of the near worship that still surrounds his name several years after his death. His distinctive characteristic was his capacity to fight evils and still retain respect for the people whom he opposed. His Christianity bade him stretch out his hand to all Christians in trouble, no matter what there denomination, and, even in his opposition to USIA, he never lost his respect for Islam as a religion.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

M A T U R I T Y

In medieval scholastic philosophy one of the primary lessons drummed into the neophites was the execrably phrased Latin principle, Latius hos quam praemissae conclusio non vult, which may be paraphrased, A conclusion that is not based on the evidence has no meaning. Chapter Four of this study demonstrated that ecclesiastical history has a logic all its own, quite separate from Aristotelean or mathematical logic, and the principles of this special logic are carefully phrased so as to underline the comparative relativity of Church historical logic. The conclusions that one may draw from this study depend, therefore, on the angle from which the evidence is viewed. To lessen the danger of over-subjectivity in these conclusions I have chosen to divide them into three sections. The first reports and assessment that is made from inside the Church in Borneo, the second looks at the Church in relation to the other parts of Borneo Society, and the third examines the question: Was the Mill Hill Mission to Borneo a success?

(ii)

Bishop C. Reiterer, the last Mill Hill Vicar Apostolic of Kuching, died at Brixen, Tyrol, on 30 December 1974. On 31 January 1975 Bishop P. Chung was transferred from Kota Kinabalu to become the Vicar Apostolic of Kuching.[1] On 29 August of the same year Fr. S.M. Fung, until that time priest in charge of the mission at Tandek, was appointed to replace Bishop Chung in Kota Kinabalu.[2] Two of the three Vicariates were thus in the charge of Malaysian citizens and the time seemed ripe for a change in the status of the Church in East Malaysia. With the agreement of the bishops of Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore, and with the encouragement of the Apostolic Delegate in Bangkok, the Borneo bishops made

1. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.67 No.3 (1975), p.208, 30 Jan.1975, and N.Prot. 756/75, Cardinal D.S. Lourdasamy to Fr. N. Hanrahan, 12 Feb. 1975.
2. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.67 No.10 (1975), p.578, 29 Aug.1975.

joint representations to the Prefect of the Congregation for Evangelization of Peoples, requesting that the three Vicariates be constituted a new ecclesiastical province.[3] The decision to accede to this request was made in May 1976, and on 31 May Pope Paul VI issued the decree Quoniam Deo Favente, creating the new ecclesiastical province of East Malaysia. Kuching was made an archbishopric, with Kota Kinabalu and Miri its two suffragan sees.[4] The official announcement of the change was made in the Osservatore Romano of 15 June 1976. A few months later, Bishop A.D. Galvin of Miri died suddenly while on leave in England, and on 30 May of the following year a Malaysian Sarawakian, Fr. A. Lee, then professor at the Penang Seminary, was appointed by the bull Vigilanti Cura Ecclesiae to succeed Bishop Galvin as residential bishop of Miri.[5]

These actions by the Holy See between January and May 1977 formalized a fundamental change in the status of the Mill Hill Missionaries, a change that had been implicit in the 1969 instruction on the implementation of the motu proprio, Ecclesiae Sanctae (1966). Until that time they had held the Ius Commissionis for Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak, but the new situation made them simple employees of the local dioceses of East Malaysia. At each stage in the process of establishing the new ecclesiastical province the Holy See had listened to the views of the Mill Hill Missionaries,[6] and the missionaries welcomed the alteration in their status. For the establishment of the local hierarchy was an accolade on the stewardship the Mill Hill Missionaries had exercised during the previous ninety-five years. The changes were made without fanfare or fuss and many of the local Christians in Borneo may have been quite unaware that their Church in East Malaysia had at length come of age.

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3. AP N. Prot. 682/76, Cardinal A. Rossi to Fr. N. Hanrahan, 30 April 1976.
4. Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.67 No.3 (1975),p.208, 30 Jan.1975, and N.Prot. 756/75, Cardinal D.S. Lourdasamy to Fr. N. Hanrahan, 30 April 1976. Acta Apostolicae Sedis v.68 No.9 (1976), p.568.
5. Pope Paul VI, "Vigilanti Cura Ecclesiis", Acta Apostolicae Sedis, v.69 No.9 (1977), p.598, 30 May 1977, and AP N.Prot 4016/77, Cardinal D.S. Lourdasamy to Fr. N. Hanrahan 7 Sept. 1977.
6. See AP references numbers 1,2,5.

A newly appointed bishop has a task that demands delicacy and tact even in a well established diocese. The first bishop in a new diocese requires not only these qualities, but must also have a certain flare and determination. Archbishop Chung is perhaps unique among such bishops in that he analysed the problems that would have to be faced and reported his analysis to the archdiocese in a 49 page pastoral letter that was published at Easter 1977. The letter is divided into two sections. Part I deals with the achievements of the past, and Part II assesses the local situation in 1975-76. The Archbishop chronicled the achievements of the past in order to acquaint the Christians with .. ..."the works the local Church has undertaken and the progress it has made over the years -- progress that has been sufficiently marked to earn the recognition of the Holy See."[7] The Archbishop uses the following statistics to illustrate this progress.[8]

EXPANSION STATISTICS -- ARCHDIOCESE OF KUCHING

	1952	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Approximate Population	546,000	600,000	600,000	680,000	790,000	857,000
Catholic Population	12,230	20,530	25,983	41,941	60,120	76,746
Mill Hill Priests	30	36	29	34	31	31
Diocesan Priests	1	5	5	6	8	10
Religious Brothers	5	9	15	21	13	13
Religious Sisters (non local)	28	29	-	-	-	-
Religious Sisters (local)	25	34	66	78	88	95
Catetchists	-	-	-	-	11	22
Seminarians	6	14	2	5	4	4
Missions	12	17	11	11	16	19
Outstations	53	88	118	177	243	371
Schools	47	69	82	-	-	-

TABLE 7

7. Archbishop P. Chung, Our Task and Our Responsibility, (Kuching, 1977.
8. Ibid., pp. 15 & 26. // p. 28.

Full comparative statistics for the other two dioceses are not available, but the following table compiled from the Directory of St. Joseph's Society Mill Hill 1978 gives the approximately correct comparative figures for 1976.[9]

COMPARATIVE DIOCESAN STATISTICS
1976

	Kuching	K.Kinabalu	Miri	Total
Approximate Population	875,000	700,000	200,000	1,775,000
Catholic Population	76,746	100,000	22,373	199,119
Mill Hill Priests	29	7	21	57
Diocesan Priests	10	14	5	29
Religious Brothers	13	6	2	21
Indigenous Sisters	97	75	11	183
Expatriate Sisters	6	2	5	13
Catechists (Full Time)	22	120	10	414
Catechists (Part Time)	253	-	9	-
Catechumens	2, 000	n.r.	2,000	4,000
Missions (Head Stations)	19	26	12	57

n.r. = not reported

TABLE 8

Analysis of these statistics suggests that they can be accorded only a substantial accuracy, and that correlation indices taken from them may be less than exact. They do indicate, however, an extraordinary rate of expansion in the Catholic population. The following correlation indices are of some interest:

9. Directory of St. Joseph's Society Mill Hill 1978 (London, 1978) pp.25,26 & 28.

POPULATION CORRELATION INDICES

	Kuching	K.Kinabalu	Miri	Total
Catholic population to Total population.	8.9%	14%	11%	11%
Priests to Catholic population.	1:1,968	1:4,762	1:861	1:2,315
Diocesan Priests to Catholoc population.	1:7,675	1:7,143	1:4,475	1:6,866
Religious to Catholic population	1:662	1:1,205	1:1,243	1:926
Diocesan Priest + Catechist (full time) to Catholic population.	1:2,398	DATA inadequate	1:1,491	-

TABLE 9

These indices indicate solid progress, but pinpoint one special area of concern. There is a serious shortage of priests in East Malaysia, which is offset partly by the activity of the full time catechists.

In Part II of his pastoral letter Archbishop Chung discusses nine problem areas. He examines first the Christian communities and shows that the standard of religious observance is good, but that urban Christian communities are over-conservative in their religious attitudes and show less community consciousness than do their correligionists in rural areas.[10] In his examination of parish councils he indicates that where these councils have been established and are running smoothly, the life of the Church is greatly enriched, but new initiatives are needed to enliven those councils that do not function well and to establish good councils where they do not exist already.[11] Lay apostolic work was found to be most evident in the towns, but there was insufficient lay apostolic involvement in the

10. Archbishop P. Chung: Our Task and Our Responsibility (Kuching, 2977), pp.29-31.
11. Ibid., pp.31-33.

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10. Archbishop P. Chung: Our Task and Our Responsibility (Kuching, 2977), pp.29-31.
11. Ibid., pp.31-33.

villages.[12] The tendency in Malaysian administrative practice to bannish Christian religious instruction from the schools had presented the Church with special problems, but these were being faced by volunteer workers and catechists, by the encouragement of the spread of Christian literature, and by operating a service by which religious instruction is provided by mail.[13] The Archbishop's analysis indicates healthy rates of expansion in rural areas, but a notable reduction in the number of adult converts from the townships.[14] The shortage of priests has made it necessary to employ catechists and other lay helpers to support the priests in their ministry.[15] Vocations to the religious life have been plentiful among women, but vocations to the priesthood and to the religious brotherhoods have not kept pace with the expansion of the Church.[16] During 1975 the people of the Archdiocese of Kuching contributed just less than 59% of the total cost of running the archdiocese.[17]

After considering these problems Archbishop Chung presented the local Church with five challenges.

1. Missionary work must not cease. It must expand.
2. The problems presented by the pastoral needs of the already converted must be faced with vigour.
3. The local Church must supply its own priests and religious.
4. The Church must become self-supporting financially.
5. The laity must take their full share in all this work.

He closed his pastoral with an invitation to the whole Christian community, requesting that they should suggest ways and means of responding to these challenges. The message of the pastoral letter was therefore that the task and responsibility of the bishop is understood to be that of coordinating and channelling the energies of the whole Catholic community.[18]

Neither Bishop Fung nor Bishop Lee have published any similar affirmations concerning their aims and approaches,, but it has been mentioned already that the Bishop of Kota Kinabalu

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12. Ibid., pp. 33-5.
13. Ibid., pp. 35-8.
14. Ibid., pp. 38-9.
15. Ibid., pp. 40-1.
16. Ibid., pp. 41-4.
17. Ibid., p. 45.
18. Ibid., pp. 46-9.

works with the PAX as with a parliament.[19] Such clear lines of development are not yet evident in the diocese of Miri, whose institutions are not yet sufficiently mature.

(iii)

Although Archbishop Chung paid great tribute to the achievements of the past, his main concern was with the challenges of the future, and his analysis is tilted in the direction of those aspects of Church life which showed room for future improvement. It is very relevant in a churchly context, but it should be balanced by an assessment of the Church's impact on a broader scale that calls for very wide terms of social relevance. To see the Church's impact only in the context of its own aims and objectives would indeed ignore the total social impact that she has had. She has in fact worked alongside a number of other social innovators to alter the social make-up of Borneo.

In 1881 Fr. Jackson stated that the missionary aim was to civilize and instruct the people of Borneo.[20] The sort of contributions made towards this aim were those that flowed from the school work, language studies and the hygiene instruction that was given by the Sisters. These all combined to improve the quality of life for many people in Borneo, but they must be set against the general decline of values that had been traditional for many generations. The mission was only one of the influences that contributed to this decline and it can be blamed only in so far as it has failed to provide an alternative set of values that can bind society together and improve it. If one accepts with the mission that a Christian set of values is such an alternative, then it follows that the influence of the mission was generally to the good.

Rajah C. Brooke in his farewell letter to Fr. Jackson wrote despairingly of the Ibans:[21] "I have done my best to keep them stationary and get them to settle down to peaceful occupations in small dwellings." It cannot be argued that the Church contributed significantly to the achievement of this aim. In the early days it tried to bring about stability

19. See Chapter 4, Section (iv).
20. MHFA-13-A-16 (retro), Jackson to Treacher, 9 Nov. 1881.
21. MHFA-1896-Loose File, C. Brook to Jackson, 19 July 1896.

by establishing Christian villages, but these villages were never successful, and the Iban tendency to wanderlust has actually operated as a very positive influence for the spread of the Church in Sarawak. Governments other than the Brookes' administrations saw the Church's contribution to the country in terms of education. The work of the mission in this field gives it good reason for pride, but does not justify complete self satisfaction. For it failed to provide either teacher training facilities or schools of nursing and gradually, in the years following 1963, it lost control of religious education even in its own schools. These failures did not always arise from causes in which the Church shared any blame, but they must nevertheless be recorded as failures.

For a long part of the history of the mission in Borneo it was one of the main providers of medical care. The standard of the care provided varied from the amateur to the normally professional, but medical care of the more specialized type demands the sort of financial backing that the Church in Borneo never enjoyed. The latter part of the period considered has seen the gradual transfer of mission dispensaries to the government medical department or the closure of mission medical facilities once suitable government dispensaries and hospitals had become available.

The mission contributions in the socio-economic field have been more notable in soundness of insight than in successes achieved. The early experiments in setting up Christian villages foundered on logistical problems that could never be satisfactorily solved. Experiments in industrial education were initiated in several places, but they have failed generally to achieve any really lasting effect. The Church can boast success in only two respects. The first is a by-product of the educational work of the Sisters. For the stress the Sisters laid on training in domestic skills has done much to improve the quality of child care and family life in the country. The second is the Bundu Tuhan agricultural mission which acted along with other social factors to bring significant economic improvements to the interior of Sabah. Other smaller mission projects achieved a certain amount of success, but the general picture has been that the mission lacked financial backing to push ahead vigorously her socio-economic projects. Political

factors outside the mission control have robbed her of the opportunity to give some infant projects sufficient initial supervision to guarantee success, and there were other social obstacles such as poor physical communications in the interior which acted as brakes on development projects in the more remote areas of the country.

Some parts of this study have suggested that the Church was one of the major influences on the development in Borneo of a sort of middle class. Insufficient evidence has ben submitted to sustain this thesis, but there are enough grounds for believing that the matter might be worth a separate study.

Normal Church-State relations are governed by the principle that economic control and spiritual dominance are the sections of the power spectrum that are respectively the concerns of the State and Religion. Where religion normally has the advantage over the State is in her capacity to wait through temporary setbacks until the going becomes easier. The Church in Borneo seldom enjoyed this advantage. For the long stability of the Brooke, Chartered Company and Colonial administrations meant that it had to be pragmatic in submitting to political restrictions. The accommodating policies of the Church in Sarawak may sometimes have been open to criticism, but they led to long term benefits for the Church. The Duxneuner-Goossens clashes with the officials of the Chartered Company, though admirable in the short term, created bad blood and suspicion that hampered the long term development prospects of the mission in North Borneo's interior. The post-war struggle to bring the Borneo states back to normality so wedded the interest of the Church and the colonial government that the mission may be described during this period as a colonial Church, but there is little evidence to support the view that the colonial government had anything to do with the expansion of conversions between 1946 and 1963. The Japanese occupation was the only time when the capacity of the Church for waiting has worked to her advantage. All that it had to do then was remain at her post long enough to collect the benefits that the peace would bring.

The factor that cancelled the Church's advantage during the Malaysian period was the government immigration policy which forced the Church to look for quick results. The Sabah Church

was very vulnerable to this policy and it may be argued that the Mustapha persecution was the one thing that was able to inject the sense of urgency it needed to respond successfully to the difficulties of the situation. The violence of this persecution worked towards persuading the indigenous Catholics to accept responsibilities that they would never have dreamed of accepting in easier circumstances. The Church in Sabah grew therefore to a stature and maturity that made the expulsion of the expatriate missionaries a painful, but salutary medicine. The immigration policy has been much slower to take effect in Sarawak and the Church has responded there with less urgency. The establishment of Malaysia has indeed forced the Church in both Sabah and Sarawak to seek for herself an identity distinct and separate from the state. The process of achieving this in Sabah has been accompanied by controversy and pain. Indeed, throughout the period of this study the Church in Sabah has seldom been in a position when there was not at least one row with the government either simmering or on the boil. The Church in Sarawak has had a quieter experience and shows the virtues of those who have learned to wait. Yet both Churches have achieved an independence of action in relation to the state which has earned them respect and a following.

(iv)

Romantics may look back on Borneo as The Stealer of Hearts[22] or The Land Below the Wind.[23] Entymologists may view it as a treasure lode of previously unclassified fauna and flora. Anthropologists might regard it as one of the last haunts and havens of The Natural Man,[24] sociologists and politicians may consider her situation and see that it cries out for social engineering. The Christian missionary has his own special viewpoint, an amalgam of nostalgia, pride, yearning and anxiety, such as has been described recently as "Looking back into the future".[25] He looks at the transformations that have been achieved and the transformations that might have been. If his model of Church is salvific he may rejoice that so many thousands of people

22. O.Cook: Borneo: The Stealer of Hearts (London 1924)
23. A. Keith: The Land Below the Wind (London 1939)
24. C. Hose: The Natural Man (A Record from Borneo (London 1926)
25. R. Ambler: Agenda for Prophets (London, 1980), pp. 111-122

have had the Gospel preached to them and that so many have found faith through his work. If the model he follows is structural he gains satisfaction in the knowledge that all the necessary structures of Church have been realized. At the same time he may be fearful that the structures that have been established are not yet strong enough and are like a plant that still needs care and attention. If his inclination is to see the Church as People of God, he may look to the degree of lay involvement in Borneo Church affairs and be glad in what he sees.

Fundamental to all these attitudes is the question: Was the Mill Hill Mission to Borneo a success or a failure? In 1978-79 the writer interviewed many priests and Sisters who had worked or actually were working in Borneo as missionaries. One of the questions asked in these interviews concerned an assessment of the impact and success of the mission. Not one of those interviewed declared that it has been an unqualified success. Yet all were equally sure that it had not been a failure. Misgivings were expressed concerning the approaches of the past. Some felt that too much effort and resources had been expended on sections of the work such as education and too little had been dedicated to medical care, training catechists and the like. Anxieties were expressed also concerning the trials and the tests that the future might bring. These assessments may not be discounted, but they can be understood to arise from the fundamental diffidence of people who strive to reach the ideal expressed in our Lord's advice:

> So with you; when you have done all that you have been told to do, say, "We are merely servants; we have done no more than our duty." (Luke 17:10)

In an interview published in Catholic Sabah, Bishop Simon Fung expressed this idea in an other way. When he was asked why the Catholics of Sabah should bother to celebrate a centenary, he replied:[26]

> Our celebration is not a triumphant show of our achievements in the past, but an act of thanksgiving to God for the gift of Faith. We remember in gratitude, we celebrate with joy that the Good News was brought to Sabah.

Unfortunately there are no contemporary secular studies of the Catholic Church in Sabah to use as controls for the above conclusions. There were, of course, encomiums delivered by

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26. Bishop S.M. Fung: "Saratus Tahun Khabar Gembira", Catholic Sabah, January 1981.

civic dignatories on public occasions, but these were more concerned to express praise and congratulations than to ennunciate any critical assessment. Popular writings about Borneo have often mentioned the Catholic mission, but generally in a rather off hand and superficial way. Only three studies need be noted. The earliest was that of S. St. John which gives a very harsh assessment of Mgr. Cuarteron.[27] The writer has compared his account with that of P.G.B. Tragella's official history of the Milan Foreign Missionaries and finds strange areas of disagreement in descriptions that purport to be eye witness accounts of the same events.[28] The second is S. Baring-Gould's A History of Sarawak under Its Two White Rajahs.[29] Baring-Gould echoes some of the views of St. John, but is generally much more balanced. His work does, however, contain some errors of fact. K.G. Tregonning's study of the Chartered Company in North Borneo[30] relies very heavily on Chartered Company sources and, where he speaks of the Catholic mission at all, it is quite obvious that he depends on hearsay evidence and that he has taken little trouble to check his facts.

Was the Mill Hill mission to Borneo a success? If we are forced to answer this question, we have to rely on ecclesiastical sources. And what better Church authority than Pope

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28. P.G.B. Tragella: Le Missioni Estere di Milano nel Quadro Degli Avenimenti Contemporanei (Milan, 1950. St. John speaks of Cuarteron ranting in the presence of the Sultan. Tragella's account tells us of long hours of embarrassed silence." Il Sultano non si sentiva di rispondere; par la prima volta si sentiva in imbarazzo, e continuava a tossire, come fanno i predicatori, dice il Raimondi, quando perdono il filo del dicorso. Poi cambio posizione, non sempre protocollare, grattandosi le gambe nude, finche il console fece intendere ad un grande de seguito che i Padri non avevano piu tempo da perdere." p.245.
29. Baring-Gould, History of Sarawak, pp. 456-60.
30. Tregonning, Modern Sabah pp.122,173,176,178,182.

Paul VI.[31]

> We consider this the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of East Malaysia is not only a sign and proof that much has been accomplished in the promotion of Christ's Kingdom in East Malaysia,..., but also that it may serve as an impetus to the undertaking of even greater things to come.

31. Pope Paul VI: "Quoniam Deo Favente", Acta Apostolicae Sedis v.68 No.7 (1976), p.450, 31 May 1976.

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SBGA A small collection of government documents, copies of which are not found in

(iv) Sarawak Church Archives (SWA)

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